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MATERIALS FOR A JAPANESE REFERENCE GRAMMAR. FIRST DRAFT.

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MATERIALS WERE COMPILED FOR A JAPANESE REFERENCE GRAMMAR. THIS FIRST DRAFT IS CONCERNED WITH SYNTAX AND PARASYNTAX. A THEORY OF JAPANESE STRUCTURE UNDERLIES THE SENTENCES, WORDS, AND PARTS OF SPEECH. ILLUSTRATIVE CHARTS ARE ALSO INCLUDED FOR JAPANESE SENTENCES. IT IS THE AUTHOR'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE WORK TOWARD A JAPANESE REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF WHICH THIS IS THE SECOND PART. (TC)

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MATERIALS FOR A JAPANESE REFERENCE GRAMMAR

Samuel E. Martin, Yale University

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/Errata and addenda: as of 20 Apr 1962/

p.3, line 16 up. For " V-u " read " V-(r)u " .
bottom. For "-teki " read " *teki " .
p.7, line 14 up. For " A mo B suru " read " A mo B mo suru " .
p.9, §2.5, line 6. For " *N sée wa/mo) " read " *N sée wa [despite N sée mo]) " .
p.11, line 11. For " ni sité me " read "ni sité mo " .
p.11, §3.1. Add class: " (3a) A ga X ga ...: kiku 'is effective' (as in Dáre ga hidari-te g kiki ka 'Who is left-handed?', Dáre ga mé ga kiki ka 'Who has a good eye?' etc.);... ? .... "
p.12, line 1. Delete " ?oboéru 'learns (from)' " .
line 5. Delete heading and move examples to (14) below.
p.13. These lists should be revised to show the adjectival nouns separately; meanwhile, the adjectival nouns listed under "Adjectival classes" should be put under "Nominal clauses" as follows: [from 1] gyuuzi/hetá da go to a new nominal class (7) at bottom of page with the heading " A ga X ga ...:"
[from 2] gukí da, ?iyá ja, and ?kirai da go to a new nominal class (8) at bottom of page with the heading " A ga X ga/o ...: ".
Other corrections: The heading of adjectival class (6) should be " A/X ga X ni/ga ...: "
Add adjectival class " (1a) A ga P ga ...: yói/warúi 'well/ailing' (as in Dáre ga dóko ga ... 'Who has what part of him well/ailing?') [Some would have a similar nominal class for byooki da 'is ill', but others say that byooki-illness is general to the whole body rather than specific to a part.] "
Delete " hituyoo da 'is necessary' " from adjectival class (3).
Delete " doozyoo dá 'is in sympathy (with)' " from nominal class (5).
Move "onazi dá "is the same (as)' " from nominal class (5) to nominal class (3) .
To adjectival class (1) add: " kowái 'is frightening; is frightened (of)' " .
In nominal class (1) for " (koodoo no) " read "(koodoo ni) " .
p.14, §4, line 7 should read: " is irregular: causative s-ase-ru, passive s-are-ru, passive causative s-as(e-r)are-ru. "
p.15, line 2. For " (detrimental, calamitous, " read " (detrimental, inflictive, calamitous
p.15, §4.1, line 4. After " 'B has A come'. " add: " [But B ga A ni kosaséru also occurs; it seems to be increasingly popular to use ni with causatives from intransitive as well as transitive verbs.] ".
p.16, line 6. For " kosas(er)eru " read " kosas(er)aréru " .
p.18, line 13. For " are transitive " read " have the same transitivity " .
line 22. Delete " yokósu 'sends' morau 'receives' " .
after line 25, add this line: " yaru 'sends (to you, there, then)' yokósu 'sends (to us, here, now)'
p.19, above §6.1, add heading:" /6. Exaltation./ "
p.20, line 11 up. Add a footnote to " children's speech* ": "* The children are growing up; o-iki is now used by university students. "
p.21, line 2. Add:" [But O-siri ni nátta toki 'When you found out' is accepted.] "
line 4. Add: " [But some accept O-ii ni náru.]
p.23, end of first paragraph, add notes: "[Japanese tend to avoid third-person reference with all adjectives referring to emotions, including the desideratives.] [In place of *Ari-tai in the meaning 'wants to have' we find Hosíi, with the same grammar as the desideratives: A ga X ga/o hosíi.
p.23, §7.2 end, add: " The verbalized desiderative cannot be used as a command or proposition unlike most verbals. "
§8, line 6. For " 'He isn't sick' ." read "'It isn't a book'. "
p.26, end of paragraph 2, add: ói 'is much / are many' --: óku 'lots' .
p.27, paragraph 2, line 1. For "*ari" read " *ári " .
§9.1.2. For " -sidai. " read " -sídai. "
line 12 up. For " Verbal nouns drop si: " read " Verbal nouns optionally (and for some speakers less commonly) drop si: "
p.32, paragraph 2, add footnote: " * But in letters you will find such sentiments as Aná ga no koto o o-omoi site (yóru mo neraremasén) 'Pining for you (I cannot sleep)', probably best treated as a cliché.
§6.5, add footnote: " * But here is an example of o-yari ni náru: Senséi ga gakusei ni "F" o o-yari ni nátta 'The teacher gave the student an F' . O-kure ni náru may sometimes be accepted; it is used in dialects. "

p.27, §9.1.2, end. Add: " Cf. -sídai as a noun suffix (Pt XII, §___): Sigoto-sídai da 'It depends on the result', ... For nouns derived from verb infinitive this leads to ambiguity: Yasumi-sídai can mean either (1) 'Depending on the vacation' (:-- yasumi + -sídai) or (2) 'As soon as one rests' (:-- ...yasúmi + -sídai). The build-up will sometimes clear things up: Otóo-san ga kaeri-sídai can only mean 'As soon as Father comes home' but Otóo-san no kaeri-sídai has the additional meaning 'Depending on Father's return'. Verbal nouns with dropped si are also ambiguous: Tootyaku-sídai can mean 'Depending on arrival' as well as (= Tootyaku si-sídai) 'Upon artival'.

p.28, §9.1.5, line 3. For " to do': read " to do (usually something bad)': " .
line 7. For " criticize " read "despise " . For " But in writing you will sometimes " read " But you will sometimes " .

p.28, bottom. Add: " Here are some acceptable examples of passive and causative: Soozi sare-tate no dóoro 'A fresh-swept corridor', Ryóori sare-tate no sakana 'Fish hot out of the oven', Kán o sase-tate no sake 'Piping hot sake', Ryokan ni tuku to "Soozi sase-tate no heyá ga arimásu kara, sotira e dóo zo" to syúzin ga itta 'When we got to the inn, the innkeeper said "I have a room that I have just had cleaned up; you may have it".' " .

p.29, line 8. Add: " [This form is somewhat literary.] "
line 9. For " -i~zume dá [=?]: " read " -i~zume dá [= -i-tukukeru] " .
line 21. Add: " [This form is somewhat literary, but colloquial in Kyoto, where we find, e.g. Ki-sina ni 'On your way here'.] "

p.29, §9.1.8, line 2. For " 'It is easy/hard " read " 'It is easy [or likely] / hard " .
line 8. For " Kodomo ni " read "Kodomo ni/ga " .

p.30, line 2. The bracketed material should read " [Dóko e iki-yasúi is also said.] "
line 10. For " Kodomo ni/ga " read " Kodomo ga [*Kodomo ni] " .
line 12. Replace the last example with: " Sake ga nomare-yasúi 'Wine gets easily drunk [normal passive, cf. Sake ni nomare-yasúi 'It is easy to get drunk with the wine', masochistic passive]. "
line 14. This paragraph should read: " Note that A ni B ga osie-yasúi is ambiguous: (1) 'It is easy for A to teach B (about it)' (= A ni/ga B ga/o); (2) 'It is easy for B to teach it to A' (= A ni B ni/ga). "
line 10 up. The bracketed material should read: " [but -(r)u koto ga deki-yasúi 'it is easy to be able to do' is often rejected in favor of the simple facilitative -i-yasúi]. "

p.31, line [illegible] 8. For " '(too) much' " read " 'too (much)' " .
line 19 up. For " yasumanasa-sugiru " read " yasumana(sa)-sugiru " .
line 18 up. For " ireba, benkyoo sinasa- " read " iréba, benkyoo sina(sa)- " .
line 13 up. For " si-nasa-sugimi " read " si-na(sa)-sugimi " .
line 8 up. For " Can this be ...? " read "And this can be ... . "

p.31, bottom paragraph should read: " Although it is more common to make an excessive out of a causative (or passive or passive-causative) than the other way round -- hence more usual to say Nomase-sugiru 'overcauses one to drink = does too much drink-urging' than to say Nomisugi-sanéru 'causes one to overdrink', causatives are sometimes made on excessives: Kodomo ni tabesugi-sásete wa ikenai 'Don't make/let the children overeat'.

p.32, paragraph 2: There is a line missing between lines 4 and 3 up:
" sugite ageru and -i-sugite morau, but I have these examples: Sinsetu o si- "

p.33, (2). Remove the question mark from " ?yobi-dásu " .

p.34, after (16), add the following entries:
? (17) -kir-u 'finishes': uri-kíru 'sells out', ...
(18) -ageru 'finishes': kaki-ageru 'finishes writing', arai-agéru 'finishes washing',..
? (19) -yameru 'ceases abruptly': kaki-yameru 'stops writing (suddenly)', ...
(20) -toosu 'finishes, is through with': hanasi-toosu 'gets one's conversation over', aruki-toosu 'is through walking', ...
(21) -makuru 'throws oneself into, does enthusiastically': kaki-makuru 'writes vigorously', tuki-makúru 'pokes hard', kiri-makuru 'cuts wildly', ...
(22) -tukeru 'is accustomed to' : yobi-tukéru 'is accustomed to calling' [cf. lexical compound yobi-tukéru 'summons'], iki~tukénai kara 'since I am unused to going', ... [Often in the derived-noun form: Iki-tuke no báa 'A bar one is used to going to'.]
(23) -sobireru 'hesitates to; (= -sokonau) misses the chance to': ii-sobiréru 'hesitates to say, misses the chance to say', ...
(24) -agumeru, ?-agumu 'hesitates to do; is weary of doing': sagasi-agunéru 'has no idea where to look next', iki-agunéru 'is disinclined to go (again)',. [Somewhat literary.

p.39, end of paragraph 1, add: " [Some accept Kaí o tóna ni shoo 'Let's make ours a quiet city'.] "
p.39, line 3, after " -(a)ndai de " add: " [older generation abbreviation -(á)n de] " .
line 4, after " commands " add: " (and, in fact, with all auxiliaries) " .
line 5, replace example with: " Himitu o hanasánai de kureta 'He did us the favor of not telling our secret' . " .
line 13, attach a footnote to the sentence " ... has two meanings ... " :
" * There is also a third meaning of MANNER 'as/while doing'. Hence the sentence Waratte míru is ambiguous at least 4 ways:
(1) 'I laugh and then look' (= Waratté kara míru).
(2) 'I look because of laughing' (= Warai kara míru); likelier in the negative: Waratte mínai 'I don't look because I'm laughing'.
(3) 'I look laughingly' (= Warai-nagara míru).
(4) 'I laugh and see (how it will be); I try laughing' (auxiliary use, derived from 'and then' meaning'). "
p.38, line 20. The second word should read " ikenákatta " .
line 25. For " unbearable " read " unbearably ".
p.39, end of §9.2.1. Bracketed material should read: " [Noun examples: súbete 'all' :-- súbete 'controlling', tuide 'occasion, convenience' :-- tuide 'following, succeeding',....
p.40, line 8. Remove the parenthesized question mark after " ambiguity ".
p.41, §9.2.4, (6): Add to translations of -te iku: " , gets underway' : " .
At end of NOTE, add: " (or, as auxiliary, 'Shall I start cleaning your room now?') "
p.43, §9.2.4.(2), line 6, attach footnote: " * But in the meaning tukatte áru 'is worn (= used, second-hand)' the "wearing" verbs are accepted. "
§9.2.4.(3), line 5, attach footnote: " *But kite míru and sinde míru seem to be acceptable, after all. "
p.49, paragraph 2, line 1. After " -(a)néba " add " [or -(á)n to], " .
paragraph 3, line 3. For " (§2.4) " read " (§13.2) " .
line 10. For " byooki hodo " read " byooki na hodo " .
p.49, line 13 up. For " -tán no nara " read " -tá (no) nara " .
line 12 up. After " -tá no de wa " add " [abbreviation -tá n zya] "
p.50, between lines 5 and 6 insert the line:
" I'd understand', Sono hón o yoméba wakáru dároo 'If I read that book [and I may or may not]' " .
p.51, paragraph 2: remove the question marks from 6 and 9.
p.53, line 17 up. For " Ame o/ga " read " Ame o " . Add at end of paragraph:
" [Why is Ame ga hurasétaku nái ... rejected?] "
p.54, delete the second paragraph (beginning "Note that perfects ...").
p.56, top. Add footnote: " *-(y)oo sa occurs in dialects. "
p.57, bottom. For " strikes most listeners " read " may strike some listeners " .
p.60, bottom, 5. Remove " ?-(r)u " before arisama.
p.61, 22. Remove question mark before " N-no ". Add at end of line: " (in Kyoto = ótaru) "
23. Place " N " in left column.
p.62, 73. Remove " ?-(r)u " before ta(n)bi.
87. Remove " ?N-no " before wari (ni).
p.63, line 3. For " Arúo kotó ka aru nái kotó " read " Arúo kotó ka aru nái kotó ka "
§13.4, line 4. For " the teacher'. " read " the student'. "
p.65. Class (4) is doubtful, since Tama dá does occur (Tama dá kara fi zya nái ka 'It is only once in a while so it shouldn't matter'); tama, then is an example of Precopular Noun (§13.8 below), and perhaps a better example than byoodoo since Byoodoo na is accepted as well as byoodoo no for the adnominal form of 'equal'. Class (6) is questionable, since ko (and the like) adnominalizes da --: no (as in Koo no tumori da [= Koo suru tumori da] ≠ Konna tumori da), and therefore belongs with tokidoki etc. at the beginning of §13.7. Like all nominals, however, koo dá adnominalizes as koo na before °no (and certain other post-adnominals, see §13.2), so that koo ná no wa 'one acting like this' contrasts with kouna nó wa 'one like this'. That is the reason for citing koo na on p. 63, line 11 up.
The last paragraph does not have a good example, since Moo súgu da 'It's now quite near' is a perfectly common sentence.
Add before §13.8: " We will want to mark at least 3 kinds of adverbs according to these co straints: some only modify verbals (háyaku, sórasuru, etc.), some only adjectivals (sukóburu, tái-site + NEG., etc.), others modify either. [Here áru goes with adjectivals rather than

MATERIALS FOR A JAPANESE REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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Introductory Note.

These pages are the result of research on certain phases of Japanese grammar the understanding of which must underly an adequate reference grammar for the language. It is the author's intention to continue work toward a Japanese Reference Grammar now conceived of in terms of five major parts:

I. Phonology: sounds, letters, spellings.

II. Syntax and parasyntax: sentences, words, parts of speech.

III. Derivation: word composition.

IV. Morphophonemics: word shapes, accent patterns.

V. Grammatical lexicon and index.

The present materials are exclusively concerned with Part II (Syntax and parasyntax); they represent an attempt to account for the majority of Japanese sentences. A theory of Japanese structure underlies the work, but the author does not claim either completeness or consistency for the theory; it is a first approximation to what will appear in the final work, where the presentation will be tempered for the student expected to make the most use of it. The present sections will be somewhat expanded and revised; they will be followed by a morphological recapitulation, largely in the form of tables.

CHART 1

STEP ONE: From nuclear sentence to kernel sentence.

∅ 0. NUCLEAR SENTENCES

V-(r)u.
VN suru.
A-1.
AN da.

N da.

* All first-restrictives except mitai and (?) nado belong at the same time to the class of postadnominals (§13.2): N dake da and N na dake da both occur. We consider V-(r)u/A-i dake da (etc.) to belong there when possible. (See §2.4.)

1. FIRST-RESTRICTION *

[V-(r)u] [A-i] N --	dake bakari gurai hodo made1,2 dokoro kagiri --- mitai nado ∅	da.

2. DISTRIBUTIVE

N --	zutu ∅	da.

3. FIRST-SPECIFICATION

N --	kara to e ni de ∅	da.

3a. VERBAL BUILD-UP SPECIFICATION

N --	kara	kara V-(r)u.	kara VN suru.
	to	to V-(r)u.	to VN suru.
	e	e V-(r)u.	e VN suru.
	ni	ni V-(r)u.	ni VN suru.
	de	de V-(r)u.	de VN suru.

4. SECOND-RESTRICTION

N --	sika/qka see/sura --- yori ** ∅	da.

5. EMPHASIS

... da. → ... wa	+ 0.	o ba (sikoso) LIT.
... da. → ... mo		o mo LIT.

6. SUBJECT-OBJECT SPECIFICATION [But 2 and (-yori) 4 must be bypassed]

... da. → ... ga	+ 0.
... da. → ... o	+ VT-(r)u. VNT suru.

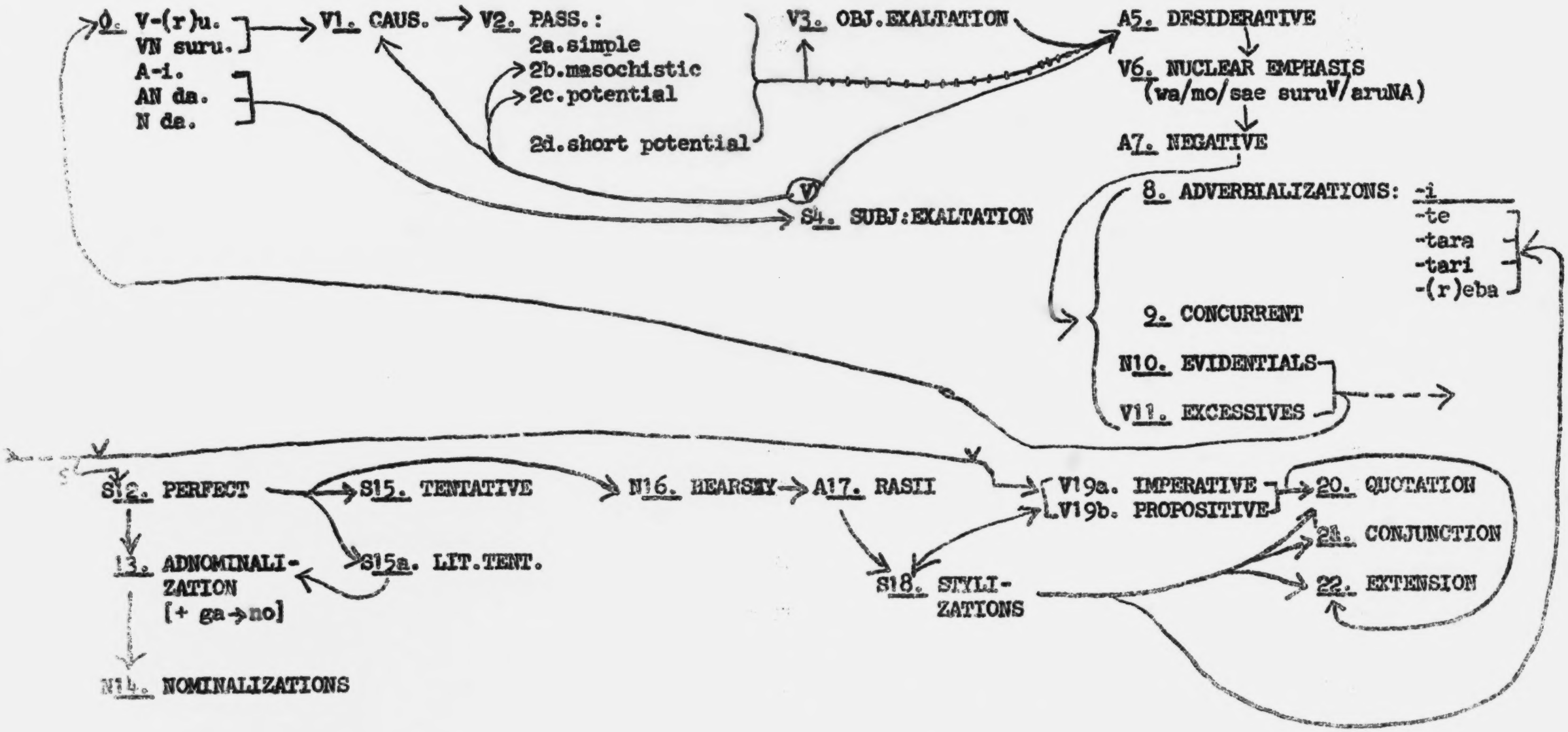
** We consider V-(r)u/A-1/AN-na yori to be abbreviations of V-(r)u/A-1/AN-na no yori with the no-nominalization (§14.2); hence, yori is neither first-restrictive nor postadnominal.

STEP TWO: From kernel sentence to shared kernel sentence.

Any of the sentences produced by Step One can be combined (to any depth) provided they share the same nuclear sentence. The number of shared kernel sentences would seem to be infinite.

CHART 2

STEP THREE: From simple or shared kernel sentence to transformed sentence. Major recursions and constraints are shown in the chart; others are discussed in the text. Zero bypass is permitted at every point. N, V, A, S before a number means the resulting sentence is Nominal, Verbal, Adjectival or Same as input sentence.



0. Sentence construction. We begin by temporarily excluding from consideration various kinds of fragments, interjections, afterthoughts, and other anomalies. What remains we will call WELL-FORMED SENTENCES: Any utterance that can be accounted for in terms of the present description is a well-formed sentence (or "sentence" for short). I assume that all Japanese sentences can ultimately be derived from a large but finite set of NUCLEAR SENTENCES, of three major types: verbal, adjectival, and nominal. Since these types must very soon be split to allow for two other types (verbal-noun and adjectival-noun sentences) these also are included from the beginning. Further division into subtypes within each major type is taken up at various points in the presentation.

I attempt to account for all sentences in terms of PROCESSES operating in three major steps. Step One involves the processes which produce a very large (but probably finite though not necessarily enumerable) number of sentences called KERNEL SENTENCES. These processes are shown in Chart 1 (From nuclear sentence to kernel sentence). Many constraints (some discussed in the following text) are not shown in the chart, which is merely a rough guide.

Step Two is the combining of two or more kernel sentences which share the same nuclear sentence. Since no limit is put on the depth of sharing the number of SHARED KERNEL SENTENCES would appear to be infinite; in practice there are limits imposed not only by length but also by constraints of build-up (e.g. you can not combine more than two subjects and only rarely more than one direct object), so that the number is not necessarily more than enormous, provided we disregard the open-ended nature of certain of the parts of speech, which are borrowed or made up with great freedom.

Step Three, the heart of the following discussion, consists of processes which convert a simple or shared kernel sentence into various TRANSFORMED SENTENCES. These processes are shown in Chart 2 (From kernel sentence to transformed sentence). Major recursions and constraints are indicated in the chart; others are discussed in the text. [The terms "transform" and "transformation" are used here in the papasyntactic sense introduced by Z.S. Harris, not in the "descriptivist" sense introduced by N. Chomsky.]

1. Nuclear sentences. There are three major types of nuclear sentences, with two important subtypes:

Verbal	V-u.	Yobu. 'Someone calls/invites him/it.'
Verbal-noun	VN suru.	Kenkyuu suru. 'Someone studies it.'
Adjectival	A-i.	Ookíi. 'It is big.'
Adjectival-noun	AN dá.	Sízuka da. 'It is quiet.'
Nominal	N dá.	Hón da. 'It is a book.'

There are several thousand verbs and over 900 adjectives that can be SUBSTITUTED for Yobu and Ookíi respectively, and many thousands of nouns that can be substituted for Hón before the copula da. In general, verbal and adjectival classes are CLOSED: few new additions are made either from borrowing or from derivation that is not fixed. On the other hand, the nominal, verbal-noun, and adjectival-noun classes are open: when a foreign "verb" or "adjective" is to be borrowed, it is usually taken into one of these classes. (But not all verbal nouns and adjectival nouns are of foreign origin: The adjectival noun sízuka above is of native origin, as is the verbal noun sigoto 'work'. See § 14.3.) There are around a thousand adjectival nouns in common use, and certain suffixes are very productive in deriving new ones (e.g. -teki, see Part III).

2. Expanded sentences.

2.1. Build-up. Any nuclear sentence can be EXPANDED by adding BUILD-UP ELEMENTS -- adverbial (= absolute) phrases usually derivable from nominal sentences of one kind or another:

Íma da. 'It is now.' --: Íma yobu. 'Someone calls now.'
Koko da. 'It is here.' --: Koko yobu. 'Someone calls here.'
Senséi da. 'It is the teacher.' --: Senséi yobu. 'The teacher calls someone.' or 'Someone calls the teacher.'
Gakusei da. 'It is the student.' --: Gakusei yobu. 'The student calls someone.' or 'Someone calls the student.'

Expanded sentences that share the same nucleus can be combined, sharing the nucleus:

Íma koko yobu. 'Someone calls here now.'
Íma senséi yobu. 'Someone calls the teacher now.' or 'The teacher calls someone now.'
Íma koko (tyótto) senséi gakusei yobu. 'Now, here, (a minute), teacher, student -- someone calls him/it.'

The order of the build-up phrases in such a combined sentence is determined by relative emphasis: The emphasis builds up as you move toward the shared nucleus, so that later phrases contain more novel information.

This view of the Japanese sentence as having no basic build-up order is contrary to that held by many grammarians, who would like to set up a "normal" order of build-up (e.g. time-place-subject-object-verb, or the like) and derive the other orders, free as they are, by various switches, each of which would be presumed to have some special meaning.

2.2 Specification of expansion. Some of the build-up phrases can be SPECIFIED by particles: Íma koko de (tyótto) senséi ga gakusei o yobu. 'Now the teacher calls the student here a minute.' Specification with particles does not affect the freedom of order; only relative emphasis controls order of build-ups. The relational particles have a number of uses and meanings, so that it seems best to sum them up here in a list, though some of them appear at different points in the chart of processes. It is not clear to what extent the following breakdown of uses can be said to be grammatical as well as semantic - if, indeed, a clear dividing line can be proved to exist between what is "grammatical" and what is "meaningful", as claimed by some linguists.

ga
1. direct subject
2. indirect subject (cf. ní 2)
3. antithesis (in ... tokoró ga)
4. see §17.5
5. see §17.6

o
1. direct object
2. place departed from (with déru, tátu, etc.)
3. place traversed (with wataru, tóoru, etc.)
4. (= no aida) time spent (as in hutaban o ryokan de kuresu 'spends two nights at an inn', san-zikan o urotuku 'loafs for three hours')

5. antithesis (in ... monó o)

nf
1. indirect object
1a. (= tó) with (áu 'meets', wakaréru 'parts')
1b. reason (as in binboo ni kurusímu 'suffers from poverty', byooki ni nayámu 'is afflicted with an illness', te-bóoku ni komáru 'is embarrassed by a shortage of personnel')
1c. 'from/by' an agent (= kara 4); see also §10, §4.2
2. indirect subject (= ga 2 with certain verbs)
3. time 'at'
4. static location 'at' (with áru, súmu, iru, etc.)
5. (= e) target 'to', direction 'toward'
*6. change of state 'into' (náru, suru, etc. -- see §9.1.11)
? *7. antithesis (no ni) -- see §14.2.2)
8. purpose (no ni) -- see §14.2.2; V-i ni iku, §9.1.1)
*9. (= dé to) appearing to be (with omowaréru, miéru, etc. -- §9.1.
10. 'and' (see §2.7)
11. see also §14.6, §17.6

* Better treated as the copula infinitive, §9.1.11.

dé
1. dynamic location '(happening) at'
2. material '(made) out of'
3. means, instrument 'by, with'
4. impersonal (institutional, group) subject
5. 'within' a time or limit (itinití de dekíru 'gets it done in one day', yóku 25-hun de owatta 'finished in about 25 minutes')
? *6. cause, reason (= no tamé ni) (as in byooki de yasúmu 'stays home with illness', no de §14.2.1)

* Better treated as the copula gerund, §9.

kara
1. '(starting) from' a place or time; '(ever) since' a time
2. '(leaving) from' a place (cf. o 2)
3. composed 'of' (in ... nétte iru)
4. (= ní 1c) 'from/by' an agent
5. (= dé 6, no tamé ni) cause, reason (kisya no tukaré kara súgu nemátta 'fell right to sleep with weariness from the train', etc. -- Ichigaki: Kaki-kotoba no bunpoo p. 36)
6. see §17.1

máde
1. 'to, up to, until' a place or time; máde ni 'by'
2. 'even'; ni máde 'even at/to/etc.'

é target 'to', direction 'toward' (replaced by ní for many speakers)

tó
1. 'with'
2. 'and' -- see §2.7
3. for quotative uses see §21.
4. see §17.2

nó 1. 'of' -- see §13.4
    2. deemphasized subject in adnominalized sentences (§13.1)
['no] 3. 'one' (etc.) in nominalizations -- see §14.2

In general, the above particles are mutually exclusive: When nó occurs after kara, made, tó, etc., it is the allomorph of the copula dé (§13) in adnominalizations or a reduction of this + nominalization 'no (§14) "the one which is (etc.)". When dé occurs in similar circumstances, it is the gerund of the copula; perhaps ni in made ni 'by' is best regarded as the infinitive of the copula used with a meaning something like 'so that it is (in the period up to)'. [Cf. the use of ni in sentence + 'kara ni wa, §17.1]

The particle to is also used as a link 'and'(§2.7) and in such circumstances can occur after one of the other particles. Note that the particles 'kara, 'ga, and to also occur in verbal transforms (§17) with slightly different meanings (and accent behavior). In Chart 1, the particle made is included with "first restriction"; it is not clear whether in its use as a virtual synonym of é 'to' it also belongs in the group "first specification".

If we derive as many of our build-ups as possible from nominal sentences (perhaps setting up hypothetical sentences for the few adverbs which seem awkward), we can divide the class of NOUNS according to their specifiability:

(1) Subject-object nouns (or "nouns proper") can be specified with ga and o. They are further divided into animate/inanimate on the basis of certain constraints (§ _____) and into count/non-count on the basis of certain constraints (§ _____), with the count nouns subdivided into classified/unclassified (§ _____), and the classified further subdivided according to their classifiers.

(2) Other noun subclasses must be set up according to criteria derived from sentence transforms, e.g. adjectival nouns (which adnominalize N dá --: N ná) and pseudo-adjectival nouns (which adnominalize like ordinary nouns N dá --: N no but otherwise share behavior with adjectival nouns). These adjectival nouns are further divided into classes according to restrictions in occurrence, e.g. not all of them can occur with the exclusive transform (-sugiru, §9.1.9). [The subclasses of adjectival nouns are being investigated and will be charted in a supplement; a similar investigation of the adjectives would seem to be in order.]

(3) Limited adverbs are those which (like góku, 'extremely') do not normally occur in nominal sentences (or in adnominalizations). Other adverbs are defined by default and subclassified by privileges of occurrence, §13.7.

2.3 Emphasis reduction and reinforcement. A build-up phrase can be DEEMPHASIZED by the particle wa or REEMPHASIZED by the particle mo; these particles can follow the specifying particles ní, dé, kara, máde, é, tó, and (?) ná, but in the spoken language they are mutually exclusive with ga and o for many speakers. But a number of speakers will accept mo o and mo ga in certain types of colloquial sentences: Mótíron watasi mo o hukúmete... 'Of course including me...', ...sore mo o motutte wa moraí-sugíru 'But if I take that too, I'm taking too much', Hokkáidoo mo o irerába, Nihon no menseki wa ... 'The area of Japan, if we include Hokkaido too...', Anáta mo o tuzete ikitai 'I want to take you along too', Anáta mo gé ioo ossyáru nara ... 'If you too are going to talk that way...' [Examples of mo o seem to be more readily accepted than those of mo ga.] In Literary Japanese we find o mo (but not *ga mo) and o be apparently to be derived from o + wa though the meaning is more like késsyo 'indeed' rather than the usual deemphasis of wa; there is no *ga wa.

The usual tag translation of wa is "as for", and "guess-what" has been suggested to bring out the flavor of emphasis-shift. There are several reasons why you choose to reduce emphasis on one (or more) of the build-ups of a sentence:

(1) You are asking (or answering) a question about some other part of the sentence: Anó hito wa dáre ga/o yonda? 'Who called him / Whom did he call?' Since every statement is potentially an answer to a question, any sentence may contain a phrase with wa. But wa almost never follows a question word (like dáre 'who', nánі 'what', itu 'when', etc.) because you do not wantto deemphasize the heart of your question.

(2) You are denying something about some other part of the sentence. Tabako wa nái 'There aren't any cigarettes' said as a denial of the question (or the possible question) Tabako ga áru ka? 'Are there any cigarettes?' Compare Tabako ga nái 'It's cigarettes we're out of' in answer to the question Nánі ga nái ka? 'What don't we have?'

(3) You are supplying information about the points of contrast between two subjects or objects; in English you stress the things contrasted, but in Japanese you deemphasize both things (with wa) in order to play up their points of difference: A wa X dá ga, B wa Y dé 'A is X but B is Y.' X wa A ga surú ga, Y wa B ga suru 'X is done by A but Y is done by B.'

The particle mo is translated as 'even' or 'also (etc.)'; in the former meaning sae [or sée] is a stronger synonym (with súra a literary equivalent), and sae is further used for reemphasis in anticipation of a provisional: X sae -(r)éba 'if just (does/is) X', §9.3 (see also §5). The sequence sae mo is used for still stronger emphasis, and máde or máde mo also means 'even'. There is also the literary particle kóso 'the very one, none other than, indeed' used in polite clichés like Kotira kóso 'It is I/we who (are indebted, discourteous, etc.)'. But kóso in this use is perhaps best treated as a synonym of sa(§15.2), so that Watakusi kóso! is short for *Watakusi dá koso! just as Boku sa! is short for Boku dá sa! 'It's me!' [Kóso is quite common after the provisional -(r)éba koso, sometimes with a literary meaning close to the colloquial ...-(r)d kara sa.]

Your reason for wanting to reinforce a phrase is to call attention to it in relationship with some other ('also, too' -- negative 'either, neither') or all other ('even') similar cases, which may nor may not be explicitly mentioned. Note the translation when a shared nucleus is preceded by more than one reinforced phrase: A mo B suru can mean (1) 'Both A and B do it', (2) 'Someone does both A and B', (3) 'A too does B also', (4) 'B also does A too', (5) 'Even A does B too', (6) 'Even B does A too', (7) 'A also does even B', (8) 'B also does even A', (9) 'Even A does even B', (10) 'Even B does even A'. [It is not clear that the Japanese sentence is as ambiguous as the many English translations suggest; further study is called for.] Note also the shift in English translation with the negative: A mo sinai 'A doesn't do it either' or 'Someone doesn't do A either', A mo B mo sinai' 'Neither A nor B does it' or 'Someone does neither A nor B' (= '...doesn't do either A or B'), etc.

2.4. First-restriction and distributive. The build-up phrase can be restricted by dake 'only' (colloquial synonyms kiri, ókiri; literary synonym nómi); the same meaning can be achieved by using sika [or *sika] 'except for' (colloquial synonym oka [or *oka]) as "second restriction" (below) and following with the negative (§8). In the spoken language, dake and sika are mutually exclusive with

ga and o (in writing you see dake ga and dake o); but dake mo/wa occurs (though *sika mo/wa does not). When dake and some other particle are combined, there seems to be free variation (dake ní or ní dake) despite the contrary suggestions in Spoken Japanese and Essential Japanese ("dake usually precedes another particle, sika follows"); but sika never precedes another particle (ní sika, not *sika ni).

Like dake are some other words included as "first-restrictives": bákari [or bàkari] "only, just", gúrai [or gùrai] (variant kúrai [kùrai]) "just, about, to the extent (of/that)", hodo "as much as (to), insofar as", máde "to the point (of/where)", dókoro [or dòkoro] "far from (doing/being)", kágiri "to the extent (of/that)", mítai "appearing to (do/be)", nádo (variants názo, nánzo, nánka, nánto) "and the like, of the sort (of/that)". These can be applied to any nuclear sentence turning it into a nominal sentence. The nuclear sentence appears in its adnominal form (¶13) except for nominal nuclears, which drop the expected (dá --: no. This is why the "restrictives" have to be separated from the postadnominals, ¶13.2. But actually, all of these except mítai and (?) nádo also occur as postadnominals: N dá --: N na bákari [bàkari], dake [or dàke], gúrai [gùrai], hodo, máde, dókoro [dòkoro], kágiri; though some are uncommon in older-generation speech in this use. This class overlap means we could assign the group (excepting mítai and nádo) after verbal or adjectival (including adjectival-noun) sentences as either "first restrictives" or "postadnominals", since the difference appears with the nominal sentences only. The neat solution would be to assign even mítai and nádo as "(nominal-)defective" postadnominals; then "first-restrictives" would be a subtype of postadnominals, since each would be at the same time a postadnominal (though not every postadnominal would be a first-restrictive).

There is also the word zútu [or ˊzutu] "distributively, each" which occurs only with nominal sentences (often, but not always, containing a number or other quantity word). This will be called the distributive.

Because of the recursiveness of first-restriction, distributive, and first-specification (see Chart 1), we expect combinations of these up to any non-repetitive depth. It is clear that not all expected combinations actually occur; charts [to be inserted here] are being prepared of the sequences that have been clearly accepted or rejected.

The lengthiest sequences I have found are shown in the following accepted sentences (to be spoken very fast):

Koco gáku gurai made dake zutu wa kasite agerareru.
" " made gurai dake zutu " " "
" " dake gurai made zutu " " "
" " gurai dake made zutu " " "

" " gurai made zutu dake " " "
" " made gurai zutu dake " " "
" " dake gurai zutu made " " "
" " gurai dake zutu made " " "

" " gurai zutu made dake " " "
" " made zutu gurai dake " " "
" " dake zutu gurai made " " "
" " gurai zutu dake made " " "

" " zutu gurai made dake " " "
" " zutu made gurai dake " " "
" " zutu dake gurai made " " "
" " zutu gurai dake made " " "

2.5. Second-restriction. Nominal sentences can be subjected to a second restriction with the particles sika/'sika (variant qka/'qka) 'except for', sae/sée (literary synonym súra) 'even', and yóri '(more/rather/other) than'. As seen in Chart 1, resulting nominals from yóri (N yóri da) are subject to emphasis reduction or reinforcement with wa or mo (N yóri wa/mo but *N sika wa/mo, *N sée wa/mo), but they are not open to subject-object specification (hence no *N sika ga/o, *N sée ga/o, *N yóri ga/o). The particle sika is always followed somewhere later in the sentence by a negative, hence *N sika da is merely a hypothetical step needed along to the way to N sika zya nái etc.) As used here, the word "negative" includes at least two things which are not formally marked as negative (in the sense of §8): damé da 'it is no good' (synonym of ikenai, which is derived from a negative transform of ikeru, the potential of iku 'it goes') and -i-kaneru 'cannot' (§9.1.8), a synonym of -(r)u kotó ga dekínai. [Note that a negative can be formed on damé (--: damé zya nái) but not on ikenai (*ikenaku nai = wáruku nái).]

Cases of V-(r)u/A-i/ANna 'no yori. Hence, yóri is not listed as a post-adnominal in §13.2.

are regarded as abbreviations of A-(r)u/A-i/ANna 'no yori.

2.6. Pseudo-restrictives. There are a number of restricted nouns and noun phrases which occur directly after a build-up; these I am calling pseudo-restrictives (or pseudo-particles) for the time being. It is not clear whether they can follow the distributive and first-restrictives, whether they can precede them, or whether they are mutually exclusive with them. [This must be checked. See preceding charts. See also §13.2 where some are listed, by class overlap, also as postadnominals.] The pseudo-restrictives are:

átari 'or the like, of the sort; (= góro) about (a time)'

góro (ni) 'each' [to be distinguished from the derivative suffix ˘goto '... and all' as in kawa-goto 'skin and all']

ígai 'outside of'

góro (ni) 'about (a certain time)'

ígo 'after'

íka 'below (a certain amount)'

ínai 'within'

írai '(ever) since'

ízyoo 'above (a certain amount)'

mée 'before (a certain o'clock or time/event)'

óki (ni) 'skipping (every so many)' [always preceded by numeral counter]

súgi 'after (a certain o'clock or time/event)'

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*But góro (ni) also occurs a synonym of the postadnominal ta(n)bí (ni), §13.2

Although góro, góte, and óki most commonly occur infinitivized (§9.1) with ni, each can also occur in a sentence with da. Some of the pseudo-restrictives are also used as postadnominals (§13.2); as pseudo-restrictives they always have dominant accent, as postadnominals usually (?always) normal accents.

2.7. Linkage of expansions. A pair of build-ups can be linked by the particles to 'and, ya 'and (among others)', ni 'and (in a list -- and a few clichés)', ka 'or'. We can regard this linkage as derived from the separate build-ups:

(1) Senséi da 'It's the teacher' + Gakusei da 'It's the student' --: Sensei to/ya gakusei da 'It's the teacher and the student' --: Sensei to/ya gakusei (ga) yobu 'The teacher and the student call', Sensei to/ya gakusei (o) yobu 'Someone calls the teacher and the student'.

(2) Senséi (da) ka? 'Is it the teacher?' (§15.6) + Gakusei da 'It is the student' --: Senséi ka gakusei (ga) yobu 'The teacher or the student calls', etc.

We might, at first glance, consider deriving the second part of (2) from Gakusei (dá) ka? 'Is it the student?', but that is needed to derive Senséi ka gakusei ka (ga) yobu 'Either the teacher or the student calls'. Parallel to this, we find Sensei to gakusei tó (ga) yobu 'Both the teacher and the student call' (roughly equivalent to Senséi no gakusei no yobu) and that we derive from Senséi to gakusei tó da 'It is both the teacher and the student'. Note the potential ambiguity between A to B tó (da) derived from A tó da + B tó da and A to B tó (da) derived from A to B da (from A da + B da) by specification with the particle tó. Apparently there is no *A ya B ya (da), despite A ka B ka (da).

Linkage is recursive to any depth (you can keep adding items to a list ad absurdum), and at each level ambiguity of constituents is increased as one has the possibility of adding the item to a total list or any part thereof: A to B to C to D to E to F... can be treated as (A to B to C to D to E to) F...,

(A to B to C to D to) E to F..., (A to B to) (C to D to) (E to F)..., (A to) B to C to D to E to F..., etc., etc. The ambiguity can be partially resolved by introducing single-bar (or higher-order) juncture.

An alternative way to look at linkage would be to say that the linked build-ups are derived from expanded sentences: Sensei ga yobu 'The teacher calls' + Gakusei ga yobu 'The student calls' --: Sensei to gakusei ga yobu 'The teacher and the student call'. The latter alternative is more pleasing to the American, because it satisfies English better, but the former is probably closer to the feeling of the Japanese: Link the nominals and then shift them to build-up use.

For other linkage devices, see ri siro = ri siti me : dé mo (X dé mo Y dé mo 'whether X or Y'), §16.1; X to Y mo 'both X and Y' ?§25; (§2.3.) For apparent cases of direct linkage (hitótu-butai 'one or two' etc.) see Part III, §___, where they are treated as dvandva compounds.

3. Expansion constraints. On the basis of the kinds of specified build-ups that a given sentence can take, we set up sub-classes of the verbal, adjectival, and nominal sentences as shown below. (Verbal nouns divide according to verbal patterns, adjectival nouns according to adjectival patterns.)
The symbols A B C represent people (questioned by dáre 'who'), X Y Z things (questioned by náni 'what'), and P Q represent places (questioned by dóko 'where'). We might have added a T for time (questioned by ítu 'when'), M for manner (questioned by dó 'how'), R for reason (questioned by dó site 'how come' or náze 'why') but these build-ups phrases seem to involve no constraints as far as particular verbs, adjectives, etc. are concerned. [Note: This section needs further study and amplification.]

3.1. Verbal classes.

(1) A ga P dé ...: simu 'dies', ?isógu 'hurries', oyógu 'swims', tátu$_1$ 'stands up', dekíru 'is produced', etc.
(2) A ga P dé B/X ní ... : *náru 'becomes', kawaru 'changes', etc.; ?súmu 'lives', noru 'boards, mounts'; tutonéru 'works for'; éru 'roots', niru 'resembles'; hazíru 'is embarrassed for (lack of)', kurusímu 'suffers from', nayámu 'suffers from'.
(3) A ga/ní (P dé/ní) B/X ga ... : éru 'has it', íru 'needs it', dekíru 'can do it', wakáru 'understands it', ?etc.; -- potentials (§4.4), derived passive-potentials (miéru, kikoeru §4.7).
(4) A ga P dé B/X o ...: suru 'does it', yobu 'calls it', warau 'laughs at it', hoéru 'barks at it', tabéru 'eats it', míru 'looks at it', kiku 'listens to it', tanosímu 'enjoys it', yorokóbu 'rejoices at', urayámu 'is jealous of', máu 'waits for', etc.
(5) (5a) A ga P o ...: tóoru 'passes by; watarú'crosses over', tobu 'flies', arúku 'walks', mawaru 'goes around', etc.
(5b) A ga P o (= P kara) ...: déru 'leaves', tátu$_2$ 'leaves (town)' (Hanada o/kara tátu 'leaves from Hanada sángoku') or 'stands up from' (héirti o ...), ayuppatu suru 'departs', etc.
(6) (6a) A ga P dé B ní X o ... : yaru/ageru 'gives (others)', kureru/kudasáru 'gives (us)', káku 'writes', okuru 'sends', dásu 'pays', kasu 'lends', osiéru 'instructs, tells', iu 'says, tells', hanásu 'speaks';

narán 'learns (from)', ?obeéru 'learns (from)', ukeru$_2$ 'is received by, is popular with' (mónku ga wakái hitó-tati ni ukeru 'The phrase is popular with young people'); site morau (favors, §10); saseru (causatives, §4.1); sareru (passives, §4.2); etc.

(6b) A ga P é X o ...: okuru 'sends', dásu 'mails', etc.

(7) (7a) A ga P dé B/Q kara X o ...: morau/itadaku 'receives', ukeru 'receives, gets', éru 'gets', ?tóru 'takes', etc.

(7b) A ga P dé B/Q kara/ní ...: Kariru 'borrows (from)', kiku 'hears (from)', osowaru 'learns (from)' (§4.6); tyúui sareru 'is noticed (by)', homeraréru 'is praised (by)', okoraréru 'is subject to anger (from)' [But most passives can take only ní, not kara -- §4.2]; etc.

(8) A/Z ga P dé B/X o C/Y ní ...: *suru$_2$ 'makes it into', kaeru 'turns it into' or (tori-) 'exchanges it for', ?etc.

(9) A ga P kara Q máde ...: iku 'goes', kúru 'comes'; ?etc.

(10) A/X ga B/P/Y kara ...: hanaréru 'gets separated', ?etc.

(11) (11a) A ga Q dé P ní ...: iru/oru/irassyáru 'is, stays', súmu 'lives, inhabits', kakáru 'hangs', ?etc.

(11b) X ga Q dé P ní ...: áru/gozaimásu 'is' [But P dé VII ga áru], nokóru 'remains', ?etc.

(12) A ga P ní X o ...: oku 'puts', kakéru 'hangs', ireru 'inserts', káku 'writes (on/in)'.

(13) A ga P kara X o ...: dásu 'takes out', tóru 'removes', kesu 'erases', etc.

(14) A ga P kara Q é X o ...: utúsu 'moves it', etc.

(15) A/X ga B/Y tó ...: tigau 'differs (from)', koto-náru / kotó ni suru 'is/makes different (from)', niru 'resembles', etc.

NOTES TO LIST: * Náru and suru are the result of §9.1.6; note that ní here is definitely to be taken as the infinitive of the copula. It is not clear whether synonyms (meaning 'change into' etc.) are completely parallel.

In general, a verb can take only one direct object (with particle o). Apparent exceptions involve either:

CAUSATIVES: Inú o hito o hoesásete wa ikenai 'You shouldn't let dogs bark at people', Gakusei o sensei o mataséru gakkoo da 'It is a school where teachers make students wait' or '...where students make teachers wait', Hikóoki o anzen ni Haneda o tataséru tamé ni ... 'For the purpose of permitting airplanes to take off safely from Haneda...', Kodomo o bénti o tataséru 'We let the child stand up from the bench' [But only Matí kara hito o dasaséru/tataséru 'We let a person leave town', not *Matí o hito o...];

OR an object that is incorporated in a modifying sentence: Hanasí o hito o nattoku saseru yóo ni suru (= Hitó o nattoku saseru yóo ni hanasí o suru) 'He tells his tale so that people will understand it'. But in colloquial usage, certain verbs (especially if the transitive member of a transitivity doublet, §4.6) sometimes occur with a double object: Nímotu o kawá o watasu 'He takes the luggage across the river' (cf. Umá o kawá o wataraseru 'He lets the horse go across the river' with causative), Sonna hitó o kono mée o tóosite wa ikenai 'You shouldn't let such a person pass in front of us' (cf. Umá o gakkoo no mée o tooraséru 'He lets the horse go past in front of the school'), Tegami o sáakuru no náka o mawasite yómu 'We read the letter circulating it around the circle' [this could be regarded as an example of the preceding type (=Sáakuru no náka o mawasite tegami o yómu) but was not so intended] (cf. A o P o mawaraseru 'lets A move around P'). Aside from the transitivity doublets, the verb hakobu 'carries, takes' has been suggested, but I have no reliable example.

3.2. Adjectival classes.

(1) A ga X ga ... : itái 'is painful' (Dáre ga atamá ga itái? 'Who has a headache?'), mazúi 'is poor at' (Dáre ga ténisu ga mazúi? 'Who is poor at tennis?'); zyoozú/hetá da 'is good/bad at'.
(2) A ga X ga/o ... : hosíi 'wants it'; sitai 'wants to do it' (desideratives, §7); sukí da 'likes it', ?iyá da 'dislikes it', ?kirai da 'dislikes it'. [For some examples, see Ishigake 5.]
(3) A/X ní/ga B/Y ga ... : óoi 'are/has many', sukunái 'are/has few', ?etc.; hituyoo da 'is necessary', ?etc.; nái 'is nonexistent' (negative of áru, §8). [Cf. verbal class (3): áru 'has it', iru 'needs it', dekíru 'can do it', wakáru 'understand it'.]
(4) A/P/X ga B/Q/Y ní/kara ... : tikái 'is near', tóoi 'is distant', ?etc. [ni more common with tikái, kara more common with tóoi]
(5) A/P/X ga B/Q/Y ní/tó ... : hitosíi 'is equivalent (to)', ?etc.
(6) A/X ga X ní ... : tuyói 'is strong', yowái 'is weak'; kuwasíi 'is familiar with; covers (a subject) well, is comprehensive'; ?etc.
... ...

Among other adjective classes to be explored is a group of ACTIVE ADJECTIVES (isogasíi 'is busy' derived from isógu 'rushes', see Part III -asi-) which share features with verbal sentences.

3.3. Nominal classes. Nominals do not ordinarily take direct objects, but a special exception is VERBAL NOUN + -tyuu, dá (§14.4), which can retain the object of VERBAL NOUN + suru: Syukusya o kentiku-tyuu da 'They are building dormitories', Nihongo o benkyoo-tyuu da 'I am studying Japanese'. This construction also works for a few infinitives, perhaps best regarded as derived verbal nouns: Náni o o-hanasi-tyuu désu ka 'What are you talking about?' (but not *Náni o o-kaki-tyuu désu ka 'What are you writing?' since *kaki-tyuu does not occur). Note also nominals resulting from exaltation transforms (§6): Kore o o-kaki désu ka (= Kore o o-kaki ni narimásu ka) 'Are you writing this?'

In the following lists, adjectival nouns have been included with nominals; when exhaustive listing is made they should be separated and considered together with those treated in the preceding section with adjectivals:

(1) A ga X ní ... : (hoodoo no) níziyuu da 'is hampered (in movement)', ?etc.
(2) X/Y ga A/Y ní ... : tokuyuu dá 'is peculiar (to), characteristic (of)', zyuubún da 'is sufficient (for)', etc.; (Z-)ippai da 'is (Z-)full (of)' (--: ní, infinitive), ?itimán da'?', ?itídai da '?'; motte-kói/utte-tuke dá 'is just the thing for' (--: no, adnominal); etc..
(3) X/Y ga A/Y ní/tó ... : sokkúri da 'is the image (of)', suresure da 'is close (to)'; ?etc.
(4) A ga B ní ... : sínsetu da 'is kind (to)', etc.
(5) A/Y ga B/X tó ... : betu dá 'is different (from)', onazi dá 'is the same (as)', dooyoo dá 'is the same (as)', doozyoo dá 'is in sympathy (with)', doozi dá 'is the same time (as)', doo-zikoku dá 'is the same time (as)'; hantai dá 'is the opposite (of)', hantai-gawa dá 'is the opposite (of)', gyaku dá 'is the reverse (of)'; issyo dá 'is together (with)', tomo dá (--: ní, infinitive) 'is together (with)'; iretigai dá (--: ní [náru]) 'are passing one another (on entering)'; sasimukai dá 'is face to face (with)'; etc.
(6) A/X ní/ga B/Y ga ... : hituyoo dá 'is necessary' (Cf. adjectival class 3

3.4. Locative constraints. The majority of verbals, adjectivals, and nominals prefer dé to ní for the particle of location '(place) at'; those taking ní can be listed:

Verbals: áru 'is' (but P de VN ga áru, e.g. maturi 'a festival'), iru 'is, stays'; súmu 'lives', tomaru 'stops/is parked', ?etc.
Adjectivals: óoi 'is much/are many', sukunái 'is little/are few', mezurasíi 'is/are rare'; nái 'is non-existent, lacks' (negative of áru, §8); ?etc.
Nominals: maré da 'is/are infrequent', ? tama dá 'is occasional'; ?etc.

In the locative meaning, then, the two particles are in complementary distribution; ní is the alternant of dé when EXISTENCE or QUANTITY is stated. But in addition to the locative, each particle has other uses, for which there can be contrast: Amerika ní wa damé da 'It is no good for America' (indirect object) : Amerika dé wa damé da 'It is no good in America' (locative). It is often hard to decide whether a given occurrence of dé/ní is to be treated as particle or as gerund/infinitive of the copula dé. Note that X wa P da can mean 'X is in P' (included within its broad vague meaning 'As for X, it is a case involving P'), equivalent to the more specific X wa P ni áru. But there are occasional contrasts between particle and copula form: Yamá ni ná-naru 'It becomes a mountain', Yamá ni / náru 'It bears fruit on the mountain'. [Add other examples, also with dé.]

Note that a sentence with P ní in it can add a Q dé before it with the meaning of a broader place: Koko de doko ni iru 'Where are you staying here?' This seems best treated as the copula gerund.

4. Voice transforms. Verbal sentences can be transformed into CAUSATIVES with the suffix -(s)ase- [i.e. -sase- after VOWEL verbs, -ase- after CONSONANT verbs, see §8], colloquially often shortened to -(s)as-; into PASSIVES with the suffix -(r)are- [-rare after vowel verbs, -are- after consonant verbs]; and into PASSIVE-CAUSATIVES (i.e. a passive built on a causative) with the double suffix -(s)ase-rare-, often shortened to -(s)as-are-. The verb su-ru 'does' is irregular: causative sase-ru, passive sare-ru, passive causative sasare-ru. The verb ki-ru has its causative ko-sasé-ru, passive ko-raré-ru, passive causative ko-sas(e-r)aré-ru. ~~The verb ki-ru has its causative ko-sasé-ru, passive ko-raré-ru, passive causative ko-sas(e-r)aré-ru.~~ All other verbs are regular, but there is no causative or passive from áru 'exists, stays, has' (except for the pseudo-literary causative ar-asimé-ru [the pseudo-literary style substitutes -(a)sime- for -(s)ase-]), nor from the exalted verbs kudasáru, nasáru, osyáru, irassyáru (despite irareru from i-ru and orareru from oru), since it is usual to make the causative or passive BEFORE putting the sentence into any of the transforms of later sections. (For exceptions, see §___.)

There are no causatives or passives (in any of the meanings that the passive can represent) made on dekíru in either of its meanings 'can' or 'gets produced' (instead of *dekisaseru in the latter meaning we find dekiagaraseru from deki-agaru), nor on ir-u 'needs'(*ir-areru, *ir-aseru), but isaseru 'causes to be/stay', narasèru 'causes to become', kawaraseru 'causes to turn into', and morawaseru 'causes to receive' are all acceptable as are the corresponding passives irareru 'has some stay (etc.)', narareru 'has it become (etc.)', kawarareru 'has it turn into', morawareru 'has someone receive'.

The passive underlies three transforms: the NORMAL PASSIVE, the MASOCHISTIC (detrimental, calamitous, adverse)PASSIVE, and the POTENTIAL PASSIVE (cf. §4.4). The normal passive is limited to transitive verbs -- those that can take a direct object (usually, but not exclusively, animate); the other two also occur with intransitive verbs. [The passive transform of an unexpanded nuclear sentence, i.e. of just the verb, can also be used in place of an exalted verb, §6.2. See also favors, §10.]

The corresponding forms for adjectival and nominal sentences ("passive" -ka/ni náru: "causative" -ka/ni suru) are discussed in §9.1.6; cf. also yóo ni suru, (§16.2, §21).

It is interesting to see that, though we find a passive built on a causative, there is no causative built on a passive, as we might expect in order to represent a meaning like 'A causes B to suffer from having C drop in on him' (*A ga B ni C ni korareseseru); we might even expect a further passive built on that: *D ga B ni A ni C ni korareseserareru 'D suffers from having A cause B to suffer from having C drop in on him'. But these things have to be said by circumlocutions of various sorts.

Passives and causatives are tonic for tonic verbs; atonic for atonic verbs.

4.1. Causatives. The pattern of the causative transform looks like this:

A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: C ga A ni B o yobaseru (yobasu) 'C has/lets/makes A call B' (We also find C ga A o B o ...; see §3.1).
A ga kúru 'A comes' --: B ga A o kosaséru (kosásu) 'B has A come'.

The meaning ranges from permission to coercion. So the translation ranges from 'makes him do it' to 'lets him do it'. There are even cases when the implication is similar to that of the masochistic passive, e.g. Kodomo o sinaseta hahaoya wa (hoka no kodomo o míru to sígu naku) 'The mother who has lost a child ["who has had/let a child die"] (cries when she looks at other children)' = Kodomo ni sinareta hahaoya wa ... ["a mother who has suffered the death of a child"]. But the causative in such cases would be limited to situations where the acting person was under the potential control of the "suffering" person: for 'had one's father die' (= 'suffered the death of one's father') only tití ni sinareta would be used. Kodomo o sinaseta could also mean 'stood idly by while children died = let children die (through neglect, in a famine, etc.)' but in the meaning 'forced children to die' = 'put children to death' it would usually be replaced by korosita 'killed'. There is no passive built on the causative of sinu: *sinasareru.

4.2. Passives.

(1) Normal passive: A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: B ga A ni yobareru 'B gets called by A'.
(2) Masochistic passive: A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: C ga A ni B o yobareru 'C suffers from B calling A'.
A ga kúru 'A comes' --: B ga A ni kororaréru 'B suffers from (the inconvenience of) A's coming.
(3) Potential passive (§4.4): A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: A ni/ga B ga yobareru 'A can call B'.
A ga kúru 'A comes' --: A ga kororaréru 'A can come'.

4.3. Passive-causatives.

(1) Normal passive-causative 1: A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C gets A to call B' --: A ga C ni B o yobas(er)areru 'A is made to call B by C'.

A ga kúru 'A comes' --: B ga A o kosaséru 'B gets A to come' --: A ga B ni kosas(ar)éru 'A is made to come by B'.

(2) Normal passive-causative 2: ... --: B ga A ni, C ni yobas(er)areru 'B has A made to call him by C'.

(3) Masochistic passive-causative: ... --: D ga C ni, A ni B o yobas(er)areru 'D suffers from A's being made to call B by C'.

... --: C ga B ni A o kosas(ar)éru 'C suffers from B's making A come'.

(4) Potential passive-causative: ... --: C ni/ga A ni B ga yobas(er)areru 'C can get A to call B'.

... --: A ni/ga B ga kosas(er)aréru 'A can get B to come'.

4.4. Potentials. The potential passive can be shortened. Traditional Japanese grammar says this is true only for consonant bases: yobareru 'can call (etc.)' --: yoberu 'can call'. But in practice, one often hears the same shortening for vowel bases: taberaréru 'can eat (etc.)' --: taberéru 'can eat'. A more common way to say the same thing is this: Take the object-expanded sentence (e.g. Kore o tabéru 'I eat this') and adnominalize it to kotó (Kore o tabéru kotó da 'It's the matter about eating this'); use this as the direct subject of the nuclear sentence dekíru (Kore o tabéru kotó ga dekíru 'I can eat this'), with the possibility of adding a second or indirect subject (Watakusi ni/ga kore o tabéru kotó ga dekíru 'I can eat this'). Cf. §14.1.3. A literary equivalent is infinitive -i + é-ru/ú-ru (§9.1.8). Note that the potential of i-ru 'stays' is ir(ar)eru, that of oru (its humble equivalent, §6.3-4) is or(ar)eru.

Intransitive verbals that do not involve human ability seem to lack all potential constructions; there is neither long nor short passive-potential [nor -ppu kotó ga dekíru, -i-eru] for these verbals: áru 'has it', húru ('rain/snow)falls', kasumu 'it fogs', otíru 'falls', saku 'it blooms', kareru 'it withers and dies', etc. But sinu 'dies' sometimes occurs with the potential; the Japanese are said to have a taste for suicide. Potentials are further limited in that they lack both propositive (-[y]oo, §12.2) and imperative (-e, §16.1) forms; you can not say 'Let's be able to...' or 'Please be able to...'

4.5. Intransitives derived from passives. In some cases, we find what looks like a passive turns out be be an intransitive verb (derived from the passive) that has its own grammar (-expansion constraints), e.g. (ni) megumareru 'is blessed (with)'.

4.6 Transitivity doublets. A good many verbs in Japanese appear in shape-related pairs, or doublets, showing PAIRED TRANSITIVITY:

Intransitive	Transitive
otíru	otósu
nagareru	nagasu
horobiru	horobosu
déru	dásu
aku	akeru
todomáru	todoméru
tomaru	tomeru
yamu	yameru
nokóru	nokósu
kawaru	kae-ru //ka(w).e-//
káer-u	káesu
tóoru	tóosu
tuku	tukeru
tukú	tukéru
tuzuku	tuzukeru

etc.,etc. (see Bloch, SCJ III. Derivation)

Similar pairs with unrelated shapes can be set up, e.g. sinu 'dies': korosu 'kills', náru 'becomes' : suru 'makes it into' (see §9.1.11) [also shape-related náru : násu, see §9.1.11 (whence nasáru, subject-exalting form of suru §6.4)], ?etc.

These cases of paired transitivity differ from passives and causatives in the following ways: (1) They are not productive. Virtually any sentence can be turned into a passive or causative quite regularly, but you have to know a transitivity pair as lexical items, and the semantic relationship is sometimes complex. (2) The shape relationship of the doublets is not sufficiently systematic to set up clear-cut suffixes and say that one of the pair is derived from the other; rather, it seems as though both are (historically) derived from a common underlying root. (Cf. Bloch's list of suffixes.)

But these transitivity pairs (both the shape-related and the shape-unrelated do have a parasyntactic relationship: A/X ga vi. :--: A/X o vt. In most (though not all) cases, the selection of nouns to fill the A or X slot is identical -- you can 'kill' any noun that can 'die', etc.

Some verbs, of course, occur as UNPAIRED TRANSITIVES or UNPAIRED INTRANSITIVES:

Intransitive	Transitive
kúru 'comes'	(motte/turete kúru 'brings')
iku 'goes'	(motte/turete iku 'takes')
yasexu 'gets thin'	--
oíru 'gets old'	--
saku 'blooms'	--
iru/áru 'exists'	--
--	útu 'hits'
--	kúu 'eats'
--	kír-u 'cuts' (cf. kiréru 'can cut' [§4.4] = 'is sharp')
--	kér-u 'kicks'
--	kokoromúru 'tries'
--	nagéru 'throws'
--	nagúru 'pummels'
--	kanéru 'combines'

etc. ...

And some verbs have AMBIVALENT TRANSITIVITY:

hukí 'it blows/blows it' (kaze ga ... 'the wind blows', hue o ... 'blows a whistle')
hiraku 'it opens / opens it'
warau 'it laughs / laughs at it'
haru 'it stretches / stretches it'
akeru 'it opens (dawns, ends) / opens it'
yoseru 'approaches / brings near'
masu 'it increases / increases it'
etc. ...

There are also pairs of verbs which have a paracyntactic relationship similar to, but different from, the transitive-intransitive one: both verbs are transitive but the direction of action is reversed (cf. Ishigaki 15):

	Out-going	In-coming
Shape-related	kasu 'lends'	kariru 'borrows'
	osieru 'instructs'	osowaru 'learns'
	azukáru 'puts in custody'	azukáru 'takes in custody'
	kéer-u 'it changes back (to original condition)	kawaru 'it changes (to new condition)
Sh.-unrelated	uru 'sells'	kau 'buys'
	ataeru 'gives'	ukeru 'receives'
?	yokósu 'sends'	morau 'receives'
Cf.	yaru/ageru 'gives'	kureru/kudas´ru 'gives us' (16.5)
	iku 'goes' comes (to you, there, them)'	kúru 'comes (to us, here, now)'

4.7. Derived passive-potentials. Finally, we find a group of derived passive-potentials (alongside regularly formed ones): kikoeru 'gets heard/can be heard' (alongside kikareru/kikeru from kiku 'hears'), miéru 'gets seen/ can be seen' (alongside mirareru/miréru from míru 'sees'); but omoéru 'gets thought / can be thought' is simply the short potential abbreviated from omowaréru and does not belong in this category.

5. Nuclear emphasis. Just as you can reduce (with wa) or reinforce (with ´mo or ´sae) the emphasis of a build-up (3.3), you can do the same sort of thing to the nucleus itself, by converting the verb, adjective, or copula to the appropriate INFINITIVE form (9.1), adding the particle, and continuing with the dummy verb suru (for verbal sentences) or the verb áru (for adjectival and nominal sentences):

Yobí wa/mo/sae suru.
Ókiku wa/mo/sae áru.
Hón de wa/mo/sae áru.

[After the -i or -e of the verb infinitive, wa is often pronounced ya (and when -i/-e ya is further reduced to -ya it is identical with a reduction of the provisional (-)éba --: (-)ya, 9.3); dé wa is often pronounced nya, see ____.]

Because of the somewhat special nature of the emphasis shift, these expressions are more common in some further transforms than in others. The order of application of transformations (see Chart 2) makes voice transforms, if any, come before nuclear emphasis shifts: saré wa sinai 'DOESN'T have it done to one' and not *sí wa sarenai. The expressions with wa are often used with negative contrasts: the purpose of the emphasis reduction on the nucleus is to play up the contrast ('DID do' / 'did NOT do'). The expressions with sae are often followed by the provisional -(r)éba [-rêba after a vowel verb, -êba after a consonant verb, §9.3] with the meaning 'if just ...'. The same meaning can often be obtained instead by using sae after one of the build-up expressions: Kippu sáe yásukereba 'If just the tickets are cheap' often amounts to the same thing as Kippu ga yásuku sae áreba 'If the tickets are just cheap (then ...)'. Instead of (or alongside) sae [sáe], some people use dake ['dake]: Kakáse dake surêba íi desyoo 'I wish you'd just let me write it'.

For a special use of the infinitive of suru + 'mo with interrogatives (dáre si mo = dáre de mo), see §9.2.2.

Note that 'A is both X and Y' is said this way: A ga/wa X dé mo Y dé mo áru. E.G. Tanaka san wa isya dé mo bungakúsya de mo áru 'Mr Tanaka is both a physician and a literary scholar'.

The reason for treating all this as a special transform [-(r)u --: -i wa/mo suru), rather than a simple infinitivization (§9.1) is the lack of infinitive -i + (o) suru etc., except as an object-exalting transform in o-kaki suru etc. (§6.3).

6.1. Subject exaltation. The normal pattern is shown below:

Verbal	Yobu.	--: O-yobi ni náru.
Adjectival	Isogasíi.	--: (O-)isogásikute irassyáru.
Nominal	Senséi da.	--: Senséi de irassyáru.
	Byooki da.	--: (Go-)byooki de irassyáru.
	Génki da.	--: (O-)génki de irassyáru.

In addition to the forms given here, we also find such sentences as: O-isogasíi 'Someone esteemed is busy', Go-byooki da 'Someone esteemed is ill', O-génki da 'Someone esteemed is well', and O-tégami da 'It is an esteemed (or someone esteemed's) letter'. These are best regarded as LEXICAL HONORIFICS (similar to Tanaka san da 'It is Mr T.', Senséi da 'It is the esteemed teacher', Otaku da 'It is the esteemed house/family'); the formation of honorifics with the honorific prefixes o- and go- is a complicated problem, discussed in § ____ of Part III.

Somewhat special is O-suki désu ka 'Do you like it?'. This can be regarded as either:

(1) Lexically related to the adjectival-noun sentence A ga B ga sukí da 'A likes B' --: A ga B ga sukí/o-suki de irassyáru.

(2) Equivalent to A ga B o o-suki ni náru from A ga B o sukí 'A likes B', a verbal sentence commonly replaced by the nominal sentence.

Note that o-sukí ni náru (like o-rippa ni náru, o-sízuka ni náru etc. with other adjectival nouns) is not parallel to o-yobi ni náru, but rather to the infinitive + náru/suru construction of §9.1.9, meaning 'gets to be, becomes'. Occasionally ... ni náru 'gets to be' is used as a virtual synonym of ... dá, 'is', e.g. Nánsai ni narimásu ka? = Nánsai desu ka? 'How old are you?'

The expansion of an exalted sentence is exactly the same as the unexalted sentence, and later transforms apply as they would to an unexalted sentence; in other words, the new sentence O-yobi ni náru is treated just like Yobu would be treated, except that it is not normally subject to voice transforms: instead you first change Yobu to Yobaseru etc., and then change THAT to O-yobase ni náru, O-yobare ni náru. [But the subject-exalting passive is sometimes added (pleonastically) to the exalted sentence: O-yobi ni nararéru = O-yobi ni náru (cf. §6.4 end).] The object-exalting expressions are somewhat more limited than the subject-exalting ones; see remarks on gerund + auxiliary in §9.1.10.

6.2. Circumlocutions. The normal way to exalt the subject of a verbal sentence is to change the verb to the honorific infinitive (o- + infinitive minus any accent) and add ni náru. Instead of ni náru you will also hear the copula dá: O-kaeri désu ka = O-kaeri ni narimásu ka 'Are you going home?' (with polite stylization, §22.1). Although this bears the earmarks of a nominal sentence, and enters into further transformations as other nominal sentences do (e.g. O-kaeri no kata désu ka? 'Are you the person going home?' with adnominalization of da --: no, §13), within the sentence itself the expansions are identical with the underlying verbal sentence: Watakusi o o-yobi désu ka? 'Are you calling me?' This seems to be the only situation to produce what looks like a direct object with a nominal sentence (if we leave aside the adjectival noun sukí da, §6.1 above); the direct object belongs, of course, to the underlying sentence from which the nominal sentence is derived. Compare the retention of objects in verbal sentences which have been transformed into adjectival sentences (desideratives, §7, and negatives §8). The exalting reference of O-ari ni náru 'has' is to the Japanese indirect subject: A ni/ga X ga o-ari ni náru 'A has X'.

Another, now somewhat old-fashioned, way to exalt the subject is to follow the honorific infinitive with nasáru (the euphemistic subject-exalting synonym of suru, §6.4). Still another way is to use the passive transform of the nuclear sentence (with the expansions unaffected by the transform): Watakusi o yobaremásu ka? 'Are you calling me?'

The verbs iru 'stays', iku 'goes', and kúru 'comes' lack their expected honorific infinitives (*o-i, *o-iki [sometimes used in substandard, rural, or children's speech], *o-ki); instead used for all three is oide, the honorific infinitive from the obsolete verb idéru (literary idu which became modern déru 'exits'):

Iru.
Iku.
Kúru. } --: Oide ni náru. / Oide dá. / Oide nasáru.

Most other verbs apparently make their honorific infinitives regularly; there is even o-ari in O-ari désu ka? 'Do you have any?' But certain verbs are regularly replaced by euphemistic synonyms (§6.4) so that you do not nowadays hear honorific infinitives from suru 'does', siru 'knows', míru 'looks/sees', or iu 'says':

*o-si ni náru --: nasáru

*o-siri ni náru --: gozónzi ni náru

*(-te) o-mi ni náru --: (-te) goran ni naru

*o-ii ni náru --: ossyáru.

But o-omoi ni náru is more common that the formal-sounding obosimesu for 'thinks'.

The regular honorific infinitives are also used in the object-exalting forms below; but oide and other euphemistic forms are limited to the subject-exalting transform (though other euphemisms occur for the object-exalting form of some verbs).

/6.3. Object exaltation./ You can make a verbal sentence exalt the object or indirect object (mentioned or assumed) by following the honorific infinitive with the verb suru 'does': O-yobi suru 'I call someone esteemed (or something that belongs to someone esteemed)'. Except for certain clichés such as O-negai simásu 'I request it of you' - 'Please', these object-exalting forms are uncommon when the speaker does not feel himself in an inferior status to the addressee. To emphasize the difference in status, a speaker may exalt the object one stage further by substituting the euphemism itasu for suru. Maids and other menials sometimes use these object-exalting forms even when there is no clearly obvious object involved, as a way of showing humility, especially toward the addressee. That is why they are often called "humble" forms as opposed to the subject-exalting forms which are often called "honorific" forms, though the use of either kind of exalting forms is often called "honorific speech", a term reserved here for a particular kind of sentence stylization (the gozaimasu-style of §22.2). There is no object-exalting form for áru (*o-ari suru), náru (*o-nari suru -- despite itasu for suru), and probably a few other verbs: ? sinu 'dies', ...

/6.4. Euphemisms./ Alongside the regular exalting forms (the subject-exalting o-...-i ni náru etc. and the object-exalting o-...-i suru), a number of common verbs have euphemistic synonyms:

Tabéru. 'Eats.' Nómu. 'Drinks' (Morau. 'Receives.'	--: O-tabe ni náru. --: O-nomi ni náru. --: O-morai ni náru.)	=	Meshiagáru.	[Subject-exalting]
Tabéru. Nómu. Morau.	--: O-tabe suru. --: O-nomi suru. --: O-morai suru.	=	Itadaku.	[Object-exalting]
Iru. 'Stays.' Iku. 'Goes.' Kúru. 'Comes.'	--: oide ni náru.	=	Irassyáru.	[Subject-exalting]
Iru. Iku. Kúru.	--: --- --: ---		Oru.* Máiru.	[Object-exalting]

*But in Kyoto speech and in written Japanese oru is merely an honorific euphemism for non-exalting iru (somewhat as gozaimásu is for áru, §22.2); note that the subject-exalting passive is made from this: Orareru 'Someone esteemed stays' (Irareru can only mean 'Suffers from someone's staying' or 'Can stay'). Even in Tokyo, oru is also often used for iru after the gerund in reporting weather phenomena: Áme/Yukí ga hutté orimasu 'It is raining/snowing'. Kumótte/Hárete orimasu 'It is cloudy/fair'.

As the last group of examples shows, a few common verbs lack the regular subject-exalting or object-exalting forms and have only the euphemisms. A comprehensive list of these euphemisms will be found in Essential Japanese 336ff? [[to be revised and inserted at this point]]. There is no *o-ari suru (= áru), *o-kure ni náru (= kudasáru), but we find o-yari suru, o-age suru, and o-morai suru. We find only euphemisms for suru (*o-si suru --: itasu), siru (*o-siri suru --: zonzíru), omou (*o-omoi suru --: zonzíru, despite subject-exalting o-omoi ni náru alongside formal obosimesu), míru (*o-mi suru --: haiken suru -- but not used with -te míru 'tries doing', §9.2.4, despite subject-exalting -te goran ni náru), and iu (*o-ii suru --: móosu or circumlocutions o-tutae suru, o-hanasi suru, etc.).

Occasionally, a euphemistic verb will be put through the subject-exalting or object-exalting transforms somewhat superfluously (O-mesiagari ni náru, O-itadaki suru) but such over-done sentences are best avoided. It is fairly common to hear (especially from radio commentators and the like), an exalting passive built on an already exalting form: O-kaeri ni nararéru, etc.

6.5. Verbs for giving (donatory verbs). The verbs for 'giving' cause difficulty because of their lexical meaning. There are two words yaru 'gives to the out-group' and kureru 'gives to the in-group'. The in-group always included "me"; the inclusion of "you" or "him" in the in-group depends on the situation. (For details, see Essential Japanese P. 354-5 [to be included here].) Since the out-group never included "me", there is no object-exaltation form for Kureru (no *o-kure suru) and in place of *o-kure ni náru we find the euphemism kudasáru for the object-exaltation. Since the in-group is either "me" or others temporarily grouped with "me", there is no subject-exaltation (*o-yari ni náru) and the object-exaltaion is achieved with a euphemism ageru in place of the expected *o-yari suru. These remarks apply also to the donatory verbs when they are used in the favor transform (§10).

Note that the choice of in-group and out-group form (yaru/ageru versus kureru/kudasáru) has a semantic correlate in iku 'goes;comes (to you, there, then)' versus kúru 'comes (to us, here, now)' and yaru/yokósu 'sends (out/in)'; a correlate is lacking for 'receives', so that morau means either 'I receive (from you etc.)' or 'You receive (from me etc.)'.

7. Desiderative transforms. Verbal sentences ('does it') can be transformed into desideratives ('wants to do it, would like to do it') by taking the infinitive and adding -tai, with the resulting sentence an adjectival (subject to further transforms like other adjectivals).

All verbal sentences seem to form desideratives; even Áru 'It exists; We have it' occurs in somewhat abstract situations like ... yóo ni ari-tái 'We would like to have it so that ...'. As a complete sentence the desiderative is usually limited to statements about one's own desires, or questions to close

friends; even in those cases, it is common to turn the sentence into a nominal sentence by nominalization: -tái n(o) da (‖14.2), or to quote it as a thought: -tai to omou 'I think/feel I would like to ...' (‖21), or to adnominalize it in some such fashion as: -tai (yóo na) ki (moti) ga suru 'feels like doing'. [Example: Sore o iwareta toki wa nakitai yóo na ki(moti) ga sita 'When told that, I felt like crying'.] Other people's desires are usually referred to obliquely, as hearsay (-tai sóo da, ‖18), or by adnominalization to yóo da (‖13.2). But if the sentence is conjunctionalized (‖17), there is no avoidance of a simple desiderative with reference to other people's desires: Kodomo mo ikitái kara, turete itte kudasái 'Since the child wants to go too, take him along'. For other notes on the desiderative, see end of ‖10 (favors). Desideratives made on tonic verbs are tonic; those made on atonic verbs are atonic.

/7.1 Desiderative expansions./ There are two traditions about expansion-specification with desideratives. One tradition is to apply the desiderative to the expanded sentence, allowing the objects to stand with their basic specification:

A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: A ga B o yobitai 'A wants to call B'

The second tradition is to apply the desiderative only to the nuclear sentence and treat the resulting form as a double-subject adjective:

(A ga B o) Yobu '(A) calls (B)' --: A ga B ga yobitai 'A wants to call B'.

/7.2. Desiderative verbalization./ There are also desiderative verbals made from the (expanded) desiderative sentence by attaching -garu; -gar- is a suffix used to derive verbs from adjectives (Pt XII ‖___), but here it is attachable to ANY desiderative from ANY underlying verbal except Áru (we find Aritái but no *Aritagáru). These verbalized desideratives have a strong meaning 'desires, is eager to' and are seldom used of one's own desires: Ano hón o yomitagátte iru 'He is dying to read that book'. The sentence often appears in the continuous aspect (-te iru, ‖9.2.4(.1)). Note the chain VERBAL (--: INFINITIVE ‖ 9.1) --: ADJECTIVAL (-ta-i) --: VERBAL (-ta-gar-u). [The accent pattern of -ta-garu is optionally (1) always tonic, or (2) tonic only for underlying tonic verbs.]

/8. Negatives./ The three kinds of nuclear sentences are made negative as follows:

VERBAL	Yobu. --:	Yobanai 'He doesn't/won't call him.'
	Kenkyuu suru. --:	Kenkyuu sinai 'He doesn't/won't study it'.
ADJECTIVAL	Ookíi. --:	Ókiku nái 'It isn't big'.
NOMINAL	Hón da. --:	Hón de/zya nái 'He isn't sick'.
	Sízuka da. --:	Sízuka de/zya nái 'It isn't quiet'.

Verb forms divide into two groups: CONSONANT VERBS which add the negative suffix in the shape -ana-i and VOWEL verbs which add it in the shape -na-i. From this we can see that our nuclear verbal sentence contains an ending suffix -u for consonant verbs, -ru for vowel verbs; this is the IMPERFECT ending (in contrast with the perfect -ta of ‖11). In anticipation of the morphological recapitulation, we can note that the following subtypes occur by shape:

CONSONANT	kák-u 'writes'	--:	kak-ána-i
	kag-u 'smells it'	--:	kag-ana-i
	kas-u 'lends it'	--:	kas-ana-i
	kát-u 'wins it'	--:	kat-ána-i
	kár-u 'mows it'	--:	kar-ána-i
	ká-u 'raises (animals)'	--:	kaw-ána-i
	yob-u 'calls it'	--:	yob-ana-i
	yóm-u 'reads it'	--:	yom-ána-i
	sin-u 'dies'	--:	sin-ana-i
VOWEL	mí-ru 'looks at it'	--:	mí-na-i
	okí-ru 'arises'	--:	okí-na-i
	ne-ru 'lies, sleeps'	--:	ne-na-i
	tabé-ru 'eats'	--:	tabé-na-i
IRREG. VOWEL	su-ru 'does'	--:	si-na-i
	kí-ru 'comes'	--:	kó-na-i

All verbs have regular negatives except for áru, which substitutes nái where we would expect to find *aránai. For special problems of negative shapes with further transforms see later sections. In Kansai speech (and in written Japanese) -(a)nai optionally abbreviates to -(a)n, sometimes spelled -(a)mu (and occasionally so pronounced); the form corresponding to sinai 'does not', however, is not *sin but irregularly sen/semu. Negatives made from tonic verbs are tonic (with the accent one syllable earlier than ordinary adjectives); those from atonic verbs are atonic.

Adjectivals are made negative by putting the adjective into the infinitive -ku (§9.1) and adding the negative adjective nái; between -ku and nái you may put ′wa, ′mo, or ′sae to make the negative nuclear-emphasis form corresponding to the affirmative -ku ′wa/′mo/′sae áru (§5). One reason for treating -ku nái as being something fundamentally different from just a shortening of -ku wa nái (as is often suggested) is that the form *-ku áru does not normally occur [exceptionally we find such things as óoku áru 'has lots' where áru is functioning as nucleus rather than dummy verb]. [Note also that -i ′wa suru does not "regress" to *-i (o) suru.]

Nominal sentences are made negative by using zya + nái; zya is historically an abbreviation from dé wa, and alongside zya nái you will occasionally find simply de nái, but the form with zya is so common as to constitute a new pattern. One Tokyo speaker has suggested that his current abbreviation of dé wa nái (with genuine nuclear deemphasis) is zyaa nái in contrast with zya nái = de nái (with no nuclear deemphasis felt). N de mo nái also occurs, of course, with the nuclear emphasis reinforced. A few nominals that are transforms from other sentences lack the zya/de nai form, substituting just nái: e.g. the evidential -soo da --: -soo (mo) nai (§20); cf. the uses of hazu (?§13.2).

Note that verbal, adjectival, and nominal sentences alike become ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES once they are made negative, and further transforms are added as they would be added to nuclear adjectivals. But the underlying sentence which has been negativized carries with it any expansions as they are: A ga B o yobu --: A ga B o yobanai. Because of the natural desire to emphasize a negation (in order to contrast it with a contrary affirmation), some part of the build-up is usually de-emphasized with the particle wa: A wa B o

yobanai or B wa A ga yobanai (with the order usually shifted so that the element with less emphasis comes earlier) or even A wa B wa yobanai, in which we can not be sure what is subject and what is object.

/9. Adverbializations./ I have chosen the term adverbialization to cover a general category of five groups of things that can happen to a nuclear or expanded sentence, corresponding to the morphological categories of INFINITIVE (see also §20, perhaps to be placed within this section?; §5), GERUND, PROVISIONAL, CONDITIONAL, and ALTERNATIVE.

/9.1. The infinitive./ The infinitive has the shape -i for consonant verbs, zero for vowel verbs (with si for suru and kí for kúru); adjectives take the shape -ku [after removing the -i which is the imperfect ending of our nuclear sentence corresponding to the verbal -(r)u]; and the copula dá has the special shape ní in most cases, but dé -- identical with the gerund -- before wa/mo/sae in nuclear-emphasis transforms (§5) and with -su (= -másu) in the polite stylization transform of §22.

The negative infinitive is made by adding the usual adjectival infinitive ending -ku to the appropriate negative adjectivals:

Yobu.	--:	Yobanai.	--:	Yobanaku ...
Ookíi.	--:	Ókiku nái.	--:	Ókiku náku ...
Hón da.	--:	Hón zya nái.	--:	Hón zya náku ...

But the use of the negative infinitive is rather limited: it occurs mainly (in the colloquial, only?) in the -ku náru/suru 'becomes/makes it' construction of §9.1.8, for which the affirmative parallel works only for adjectivals (-ku náru/suru) and nominals (ni náru/suru) -- you have to use a nominalized circumlocution -(r)u yóo ni náru/suru for verbals. The limited use is the reason why the form was missed entirely in earlier studies such as Bloch's SCJ I and my Morphophonemics of Standard Colloquial Japanese, where the negative copular noun -(a)zu (§9.6) was mistaken for the (as of then) undiscovered negative infinitive.

In literary and written styles, the infinitive is often used as an equivalent of the gerund 'is/does and (so)': Áni wa isya ni nári (=nátte), otootó wa bungakúsya ni nátta 'The older brother became a physician and the younger brother became a literary scholar'. Yamá ga tákaku (=tákakute), mizu ga kiyói 'Its mountains are tall and its waters pure'. Nominal sentences usually replace the colloquial copula dá by de áru (literary nári), so that it is rare to find the infinitive ní = dé 'it is and' (except with the negative copular noun -azu ni §9.6); Ishigaki (p. 42) suggests two examples: Sore ga mamén-sa ni [= de] wakáyome wa sato e káetta kiri modótte kónai 'With that as a resentment, the bride returned to her village and would not return'. Káno-zyo wa ... hóho dake ga momoiro ni [=de], sikási ... 'Just her cheeks were pink, but ...' Compare also the use of ni to link nouns in a list (§2.7) which may be derived from this. In the sentence-connecting usage, the negative -(a)nákute is normally replaced by -(a)nái de (§) and -(a)naku is replaced by -(a)zu ni (§9.6), but the negative of áru is treated in the same way as the adjectives: Okane ga náku (= nákute) komáru 'I am embarrassed for money'.

We find that the verbal infinitives have a number of uses not shared with the adjectival and nominal ones; conversely (§9.1.11) there are a number of uses of the adjectival and nominal infinitives not shared with the verbal ones.

The infinitive is the usual form in which a verb inters into a derivational compound; see Pt III, §§_____, for e.g. -i-mono, -i-káta, -i-miti, -i-yóo (ga nái), and numerous verb + verb compounds. The verbal infinitive is the form on which polite stylization is based: -i-másu (§22.1). And there are many derived nouns form the verbal infinitives; the shape is identical except that the accent (if any) moves to the last syllables: yasúmi 'resting' --: yasumí 'vacation'; Iki mo kaerí mo dénsya da 'Both the going and the returning (the trip out and the trip back) are by electric train'. A few adjective infinitives underly a derived noun: tikáku 'being near' --: tikáku 'vicinity', ? sitaku 'wanting/going to do' --: sitaku 'preparations' (assuming that the Chinese etymology is false).

But the adjectivals and nominals enter into a number of similar constructions and derivations with the raw base (i.e. with -i and dá respectively removed); one traditional view of Japanese grammar is to regard the verbal infinitive as the same sort of"raw base", i.e. the -(r)u form with the ending removed (and the extra -i of the consonant base explained as a morphophonemic anomaly). This traditional view ignores the similarities between the verbal infinitive and the adjectival and nominal infinitives (-ku and ní) in nuclear emphasis, §5, and in some noun derivation (§§_____), as well as the literary and written use of both as equivalent to the respective gerunds in the meaning 'does/is and (so)' (see above). But it brings out the similarities between the verbal infinitive and the adjectival base (as well as the nominal base, i.e. the noun itself), especially with respect to the attachment of -sugíru (the excessive §9.1.7), -ságara (the concurrent §9.1.3), and -sóo da (the evidential §20).

Note that the constructions listed here as infinitive + auxiliary verb are considered not as derivational verbs (like those covered in Part III) but as transformed sentences, since they can carry with them any expansions. If the infinitive is from a sentence that takes objects, the objects stay intact in the transformed sentence. Other verb compounds not only are less freely generated than the ones mentioned here, but determine their own expansions without any predictable relationship to the infinitives that went into them. In other words, the derived compounds are derived only from UNEXPANDED nuclear sentences. (But see also "decompounds", §9.1.7; Ishigaki 57-8.)

In SHAPE, the verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb is more similar to derived compounds (since the infinitive is pronounced in one accent phrase with the auxiliary) than to gerund + auxiliary (§9.2.4) which admits of /+/ juncture between so that a tonic gerund retains its accent and merely reduces the accent on a tonic auxiliary to secondary accent. That is why we write the infinitive with a hyphen, just like our compound verbs of Part III, and discuss the accent for both kinds together in Part IV.

/9.1.1. Verbal infinitive + ni + verbs of motion./ [Cf. o-...-i ni náru, §6.1.] The verbal infinitive + the particle ni and followed by some verb of movement [typically iku 'goes' or kúru 'comes' but also yaru 'sends out' and yokósu 'sends in'] means '(moves) for the purpose of doing'. The sentence carries with it any expansions: A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' --: A ga B o yobi ni iku 'A goes to call

B'. The subject of the larger sentence has to be the same as the infinitivized sentence -- you cannot go for the purpose of someone else's doing it; but by "same subject", of course, is meant the immediate subject of causation in the causative, of suffering in the passive, and not the subject of the further sentence underlying those. In other words, we have a combined sentence A ga iku (etc.) + A ga yobu, with the subject shared and ni marking the linkage with purposive meaning.

There is no *arí ni iku from áru 'exists, has', *iri ni iku from ir-u 'needs', *déki ni iku from dekíru 'is produced/can', or *-te i ni iku from -te iru (§9.2.4). But we find nári ni iku 'goes to become', súmi ni iku 'goes to reside', i ni iku 'goes to stay/be', passives and causatives (sare/sase ni iku 'goes to suffer/cause'), favors (-te age ni iku 'goes to do for', -te morai ni iku 'goes to have done for one'), dé ni iku 'goes to leave', and even iki ni iku/kúru 'goes/comes to go' and kí ni iku/kúru 'goes/comes to come' and rarely isógi ni iku 'goes (in order) to hurry'.

Separable verbal nouns, like benkyoo (o) suru 'studies', freely drop the infinitive si: benkyoo ([o] si) ni kúru 'comes to study', sigoto ([o]si) ni iku 'goes to work'. Looking at it another way, we can say that verbal nouns are nominals (benkyoo da 'it is study') that happen to share this construction with verbals: benkyoo da --: benkyoo ni [infinitive of the copula] + (ni) iku with the copula infinitive and the particle ni collapsing into one /ni/. [This might provide a good argument for treating the ni of ni iku as copula infinitive rather than particle. Cf. also no ni (wa) §14.2.2.]

/9.1.2. Verbal infinitive + -sídai./ To any verbal infinitive you can attach -sídai to mean 'as soon as', equivalent to the more colloquial -(r)u to (§17.2) or -tárá (súgu) (§9.4): Oosaka e tuki-sídai zimísyo e mairimásu 'I will come to your office as soon as I get to Osaka'. Sina o uketori-sídai kane o watasimásu 'I will pay the money on receipt of the goods'. Tuuti ga ari-sídai ... 'On being notified...' Kikai no ari-sídai ... 'At first opportunity...'

Note that negatives and desideratives are automatically excluded, because their sentences are adjectival (even though ultimately based on verbal sentences). But passives and causatives ase possible with -sídai: sare-sídai, sase-sídai, saserare-sídai.

Verbal nouns drop si: Tootyaku suru 'Arrives' --: Tootyaku-sídai... 'Upon arrival ...'

The subject need not be the same in the two sentences combined.

/9.1.3. The concurrent (nagara)./ Sentences can be adverbialized with the meanings 'while' and, sometimes with the particle mo added, 'although'. The meaning 'while' is usual with most verbals, 'though' with the verbal áru 'exists' and with adjectivals and nominals. Almost any sentence can follow to complete the new sentence but the subject (as in §9.1.1) must remain the same.

The concurrent is made by attaching -nagara to the infinitive of a verbal sentence (producing -nágara from tonic verbs, -nagara from atonic verbs). Less commonly an adjectival sentence has nagara [or nágara] added after the nuclear form as a particle (like the conjunctionalizations of §17): Tiisái nagara

tikara ga áru 'He may be small, but he is strong'. Hosói nagara tuyói kí da 'It is a tree that is strong though slender'. "Ɓemái nagara mo tanosíi wá ga ya" 'Home sweet home'.

Nominal sentences (nuclear or expanded) have nagara [or nágara] following the noun. This seems to occur for most subject-object nouns (Wakái onna nagara [onna nágara] 'Though a young woman'), copular nouns (Taihen genki nagara [genki nágara] 'Although very healthy'), and precopular nouns (Kyónen kara byooki nagara [byooki nágara] 'Although ill since last year'). The accent of the phrase noun -- nagara is either atonic or tonic [...nágara], apparently in free variation, regardless of the basic accent of the noun. A number of adverbs sound strange with this construction, but some seem to be acceptable: Sukosi nagara [Sukosi nágara] wakátta 'I understood it although just a little' (but sukósi here could --should?-- be considered a number word).

With nominals and adjectivals (including adjectival nouns and precopular nouns) the concurrent sounds somewhat formal.

Verbal nouns follow the verbal pattern: Kenkyuu si-nagara 'While doing research'.

9.1.4. Verbal infinitive + -túːtu. A literary (or pseudo-literary) equivalent of the verbal concurrent is infinitive -- -túːtu (or, with vowel unvoicing, -tùːtu): Hón o yomi-túːtu = Hón o yomi-nágara 'While reading the book'. When this expression is followed by the auxiliary áru, however, the expression is a literary equivalent for -te iru in the meaning 'is doing': Hón o yomi-túːtu áru = Hón o yónde iru 'I am reading the book'. Verbal nouns follow the verbal pattern: Kenkyuu si-túːtu áru 'I am doing research'. [For more examples, see Ishigaki 41.]

9.1.5. Verbal infinitive + ˇ-gati da. Any (?) verbal infinitive can have ˇ-gati da attached to make a nominal sentence (always atonic) with the meaning 'tends to do': Kumori-gati da 'It is tending to be cloudy'. Soo iu kotó wa ari-gati da' Such things tend to happen'. [ADD MORE EXAMPLES HERE] With respect to adnominalization, the resulting nominal sentence is usually treated as an adjectival noun (dá --: ná) in speech: Hito o keibetu siˇgati na hitó da 'He is a person who tends to criticize others'. But in writing you will sometimes find the expression treated as a precopular noun (dá --: no): Kumori-gati no (= naˇ) hí da 'It is a day that tends to be cloudy'.

Verbal nouns follow the verbal pattern: VN si-gati da.

9.1.6. Verbal infinitive + ˇ-tate da. Most verbal infinitives can attach ˇ-tate da to make a nominal sentence (always atonic) with the meaning 'has just done, is fresh from doing'; the resulting verbal sentence is treated as a precopular (dá --: no) in adnominalization: Ki-tate no hitó 'a person who has just arrived', Nuri-tate no penki 'fresh paint', Ié o kai-tate no hitó 'a person who has newly bought a house' (note the accompanying build-up from the underlying sentence).

There seems to be no *ari-tate da or *i-tate da (from i-ru 'stays'). It is not clear whether the passive (?sare-tate da) and causative (?sase-tate da) are permitted. This transform seems to be old-fashioned, and may be losing its productivity.

9.1.7. Other nominals from verbal infinitives. There are a few other cases of nominals [always atonic] from verbal infinitives where the build-up seems to be carried over from the underlying sentence (cf. Ishigaki 58 where they are treated as "phrasal decompounds"):

-i˘zama [? = -i-nagara, ? = -(r)u to súgu]: Koo ii-zama, akaruku nátta zasikí o huri-míita 'Saying this, he t̥ṷned to the apartment which had lighted up'. Usiro o hurimuki-zama, kataná de kiri-tuketa 'Turning to the back, he stabbed with his sword'.

-i˘zume dá [=?]: Itiniti-zyuu suwari-zume no zyootai de, karada ga taihen tukáreta 'My body was quite weary from being kept sitting all day long'. Máiniti zyuugo-zíkan, bentóo o kuti ni ireru ma mo katáqpo ni zí o oi-zume no karoo de, káre wa mé ga akaku nátte ita 'His eyes were red from the overwork of 15 hours a day, continually pursuing words from the corner of his eye even while putting his lunch in his mouth'. Hitoban-ẑyuu o-sake o nomi-zume dátta no de, tugí no hí ni wa atamá ga ítaku nátta 'I was up drinking liquor all night long, so the next day I had a headache'.

-i˘sina ni [= -(r)u to súgu, -i-sídai]: Sotira e tuki-sina ni o-tsyori kudasái 'Let us hear from you as soon as you get there'. Biru o de-sina ni 'On leaving the building'. [Cf. Kenkyusha "dialect" with the examples Kaeri-sina ni 'before starting on one's way back', Ne-sina ni 'just before going to bed'.]

-i˘gake ni [= -(r)u to sugu, -i-sídai]: Oki-gake ni denwa ga kakátte kúru 'A telephone call comes as I am getting up'. Uti o de-gake ni ... 'Just as I am leaving the house ...' Toori-gake ni 'On one's way by'. Cf. O-kaeri-gake ni 'On your way home'.

-i˘kake dá 'is half-done with': (see §9.1.10, #3).

-i˘doosi dá [? = -i-zuma, ? = -ta mama]: Asa háyaku kara hataraki-doosi (= hataraki-zume) ná no de, taihen tukáreta 'I was working steadily from early morning, so I am very tired.' Syúzin kara donare-doosi de áru sínkei no kiroo no tamé ni ... 'Because my nerves were weary from the continual yelling by the boss...' [Df. Kenkyusha, 'all through, throughout' with the examples Tati-doosi de áru 'stands (=keeps standing) all the time', Syaberi-doosi ni syabéru 'keeps talking; talks away'] Hotyóo-ki o kake-doosi (= kaketa mama) ná no de ... 'Wearing a hearing aid ...'

To the extent that these are productive, they should be set up as separate transforms. Note that objects are not carried over with -i-mono and similar compounds (Pt III, §___), nor are such compounds freely manufactured today.

9.1.8. Facilitatives. Any (?) verbal infinitive can be turned into an adjectival sentence [always tonic] with the meaning 'It is easy/hard to do'; for the 'easy' meaning you attach -yasúi or -íi, for the 'difficult' meaning you attach -nikúi or (dialect?) -zurái or (literary) -gatái. The subject of the underlying sentence becomes an indirect subject (ní/ga) and some other part of the build-up (typically the direct object) becomes the direct subject:

Kodomo ga mizu o nóma 'The child drinks water' --:

Kodomo ni mizu ga nomi-yasúi 'It is easy for the child to drink water' or 'Water is easy for the child to drink'.

But it is also possible to leave the object of the underlying sentence as it stands: Kodomo ni/ga mizu o nomi-yasúi 'It is easy for the child to drink water'. (Compare N ga/o + desiderative -tai, §7.1.)

Note the following sentences in which some other part of the build-up becomes the subject of the facilitative sentence:

Kodomo ga dóko e iku 'Where does the child go?' --: Kodomo ni dóko ga iki-yasúi 'Where is it easy for the child to go (to)?' [Apparently *Doke e iki-yásui is rejected.]
Kodomo ga ítu kúru 'When will the child come?' --: Kodomo ni ítu ga ki-yasúi 'When will it be easy for the child to come?'

Since the meaning of this expression would seem already to involve a sort of passive aspect, we might not expect passive verbals to undergo this transform; yet we find:
Senséi ga kodomo o sikaru 'The teacher scolds the child' --: Kodomo ga senséi ni sikarareru 'The child gets scolded by the teacher' --: Kodomo ni/ga senséi ni sikarare-yasúi 'It is easy for the child to get scolded by the teacher'. Gokai sare-yasúi kotobá de 'It is a word easily misunderstood'. Sake ni/ga nomare-yasúi 'Wine gets easily drunk'.

Note that A ni B ga age-yasúi is ambiguous: (1) 'It is easy for A to give B (to someone)'. (= A ni/ga B ga/o ...), (2) 'It is easy for B to give it to A' (= A ni B ni/ga ...).

Causative forms, of course, can undergo this transformation: sase-nikúi 'is difficult to make/let'. Negatives can be made on facilitatives: Nomi-yásuku/-nikuku nái 'It isn't easy/hard to drink' (following the usual adjectival pattern). Since desideratives are adjectivals (based on verbals) you can not make a facilitative directly from them, but it is possible to make a facilitative from a verbalized desiderative: Iku --: Ikitai --: Ikitagaru --: Ikitagari-yasúi 'It is easy to want to go'.

Among facilitatives found or elicited are sini-yasúi 'it is easy to die', ari-yasúi 'it is easy to have', i-yasúi 'it is easy to stay', oti-yasúi 'it is easy to fall', hanâ ga saki-yasúi 'it is easy for flowers to bloom', kumori-yasúi 'it is easy for it to be cloudy', hi ga teri-yasúi 'it is easy for the sun to shine', deki-yasúi 'it is easy to be produced' [but no *-(r)u koto ga deki-yasúi 'it is easy to be able to do'). The translation of the facilitative is sometimes better 'often/seldom' ('it is often cloudy' etc.); compare one of the translations of the infinitive of 'is good': yóku 'well; often; lots = much'.

The forms sometimes acquire special meanings: mi-nikúi can mean either 'it is hard to look at' or 'it is ugly'. The forms in -íi, more relaxed than those in -yasúi, produce some interesting vowel sequences: si-íi 'it is easy to do', ki-íi 'it is easy to come/wear', sii-íi "it is easy to force'.

It is possible to make a facilitative on an exalting sentence: O-kaki ni nari-yasúi 'It is easy for you to write', O-kaki si-yasúi 'It is easy for me to write you'. But once made, kaki-yasúi can not be exalted with o- (*o-kaki-yasui -- despite o-yasui 'it's cheap'). Kaki-yásukute irassyáru is possible, as is O-kaki ni nari-yásukute irassyáru, but *Kaki-yásukute oide ni náru does not occur, nor does *O-kaki-yásukute irassyáru. Leaving these aside, the facilitatives can take most transforms open to adjectivals, including -yasu-sóo da (-yasu-gé da, §20), -yásuku, -yásukute (wa/mo), etc. They can undergo nuclear emphasis reinforcement or reduction (si-yásuku wa/mo/sae áru, §5); it is less common to find the opposite, a facilitative made on a nuclear-emphasis marked form, but -i wa/mo si-yasúi/-nikui is apparently acceptable, though *-i sae si-yásukereba/-nikukereba is rejected.

9.1.9. The excessive (-sugíru). You can attach -sugíru to the infinitive of most verbals, to produce a new verbal, the excessive form with the meaning 'overly'. The implication can be that a single subject overdoes the action or that too many subjects engage in the action; with an obviously plural subject a sentence can be ambiguous. Some verbs (e.g. Sini-sugíru 'Too many of them are dying') make sense only in the second meaning (you can't "overdie"). A similar problem of singular-plural exists for the alternative -tári (§9.5). The dictionary translation of '(too) much' is ammari (used as an adverbial build-up). This is more common with the negative '(not) too' or with some (usually bad) consequence: Ammari tabéru to (Anmari samíi to) byooki ni náru 'When you eat too much (When it is too cold) you get sick'. Ammari tábete kara (Ammari tábeta kara) byooki ni nátta 'After eating too much (Because I ate too much) I got sick'. The excessive verbals are in more general use. For the ordinary 'too' + affirmative adjective, Japanese often use just the simple adjective -- letting the situation take care of the implication; or, they use tyótto 'a bit' with the implication of 'overly'; or, they use the excessive of the adjectival sentence.

Excessive verbals are also produced by attaching -sugiru to any adjective base including ná- 'lacking', which (as with the evidential nasa-sóo da §20) takes the special shape nasa- (nasa-sugíru 'is over-lacking [jocular]'); yó- 'be good' (with colloquial irregular nuclear form íi 'It is good' alongside the more literary Yói), on the other hand, produces Yo-sugíru 'It is overly good' despite the irregular evidential Yosa-sóo da 'It appears to be good'. We can also make excessives from the facilitative adjectivals: kotae-yasu-sugíru or kotae-yo-sugíru 'it is too easy to answer', (ammari) kotae-niku-sugíru 'It is too hard to answer', ari-gata-sugíru 'it is too difficult to bear = obliging'.

There seems to be some resistance to making an excessive on a negative, the preference being to negativize the excessive verbal: Nómu --: Nomi-sugíru --: Nomi-sugínai 'He doesn't drink to excess'; Óoi --: Oo-sugíru --: Oo-sugínai 'There are not too many'. But you occasionally run across sentences like Ano senséi ga yasumanasa-sugíru 'That teacher doesn't stay out of school as much as I would like', Benkyoo si-sugíru gakusei mo ireba, benkyoo sinasa-sugíru gakusei mo iru 'There are students who study too much but there are also students who overly avoid studying'. In these cases the negative follows the pattern of the adjective ná-: -(a)nasa- + -sugíru. A further negative can be made on the excessive-made-on-a-negative to deny an accusation or the like: Benkyoo si-nasa-sugínai! 'But I don't excessively avoid studying!'

You do not make excessives out of desiderative adjectivals (*-ta-sugiru), though you can make desideratives out of excessives: Nomi-sugíru --: Nomi-sugitai 'I want to drink too much' (negative --: Nomi-sugítaku nái 'I don't want to drink too much'). But you can make an excessive on a desiderative verbal: Nomi-tagari-sugíru 'Is overly desirous of drinking'. [Can this be turned into a desiderative adjective -- Nomi-tagari-sugítaku nái 'I don't want to be overly desirous of drinking'?]

It is possible to make an excessive out of a causative or passive or even a passive causative, but you cannot make a causative or passive out of an excessive verbal: there is no *-sugi-saseru/-sareru. It is possible to say Nomase-sugíru 'overcauses one to drink - does too much drink-urging' but not *Nomisugi-saséru 'causes one to overdrink' as we might expect.

She overly looks in tears. Her weeping appearance is overdrawn'. Similar is the list of *[-gárai] nitai-sugíru (§13.2) for which [illegible]

Most nominal sentences can not be turned into excessive verbals. Exceptions are a number of adjectival nouns (e.g. hadé da 'it is gaudy' --: hade-sugíru, sízuka da 'it is quiet' --: sizuka-sugíru, and kawaisóo da 'it is pitiful' --: kawaisoo-sugíru; see the classification of adjectival nouns in §___). Evidentialized sentences [--: -(k)-sóo da] are a kind of adjectival noun but they do not produce excessive verbals: there is no *-i-soo-sugíru. Instead, you adverbialize the evidential sentance with the copula infinitive (--: -i-sóo ni) and use it as build-up for the verbal sentence Miéru 'It appears', then turn this sentence into a verbal excessive: Naki-soo ni mie-sugíru can be substituted. Except as denials in answer to questions, the adjectival-noun excessive does not negativize: Hade-sugínai 'You're wrong -- it isn't too gaudy.' Cf. ni sugínai, §14.6.2.

Excessives can be built on the expressions adjectival/nominal infinitive + náru/suru (§9.1.11): hyooki ni nari-sugíru 'too many people are getting sick'; of giving and receiving favors (§10): -te age-sugíru 'too many are doing it for others' or 'does too much doing it for others', -te mi-sugíru, -te i-sugíru, -te ari-sugíru (§9.2.4). The excessive expression, once made, can enter into a few such contractions itself, such as -i-súgite áru 'is overdone' (e.g. Gozi ga kaki-súgite áru 'There are too many miswritten characters') in contrast with -te ari-sugíru 'is done too much', and -i-súgite iru 'is being overdone / is overdone' in contrast with -te i-sugíru 'is doing it too much / is too much done'. There seems to be some hesitancy about forms like -i-súgite simau, -i-súgite míru, -i-sugite simau 'ends up being (or is just too damn) polite'. Sítsetu ni si-súgite agetá/morattá no de mata koráreta 'From (our giving / his receiving) too much cordial reception, we had him on our hands again'.

There is a slight hesitancy by some to apply this with subject-exaltation: o-kaki ni nari-sugíru, irassyari-sugíru, nasari-sugíru; and with object-exaltation: o-kaki si-sugíru, itasi-sugíru. But you find examples: O-negai si-sugíru 'I'm asking too much'. Sonna koto itasi-sugimásitara [with polite stylization + conditional] o-yurusi kudasái 'Please forgive me if I do such things too much'. The verb áru is accepted (ari-sugíru 'there's too much of it / too many of them') as is ir-u (iri-sugíru 'needs too much of it' -- though tukai-sugíru 'uses too much of it' is more common in the appropriate situations). Deíru in the meaning 'is produced' is accepted, and in the meaning 'can'. It is barely accepted in sentences like Benkyoo deki-sugiru (kodomo mo imásu) '(There are children who) can study too much = (who are) too bright' [said in envy]. Other potential-type meanings can be made excessive: Kikoe-sugíru 'You can hear all too well/much' or 'All too many can hear/be heard', Mie-sugiru 'You can see too much' or 'Too many can see / be seen'.

Excessives, once made, can take most transforms appropriate to a verbal, e.g. the concurrent -sugi-nágara 'though overdoing'.

It seems to be impossible to follow postadnominals (§13.2) with either -sugíru or (as we might at least expect), ni sugíru (§14.6.2), even when the postadnóminal is an adjectival noun like yóo or mítai.

Excessives, like compound verbs (§___), are always tonic for younger generation speakers; for older generation speakers (followed here) they are atonic when made on TONIC verbs or on any adjective or adjectival noun.

/9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb./ We have said that the infinitive is the form that a verbal assumes in entering into a compound verb. Some such constructions are fairly productive, and carry with them the grammar of the verbal form which the infinitive comes; these we treat here as transforms (in contrast [illegible]

(1) -hazimeru 'begins': yomi-hazimeru, yobi-hazimeru, ari-hazimeru ('begins to exist/have'), owari-haziméru ('starts to end') hazime-haziméru ('starts to begin it', ...

(2) -dasu 'begins': huri-dasu, ?yobi-dásu (cf. yobi-dásu [lexical compound] 'calls someone out, pages, summons'), dasi-dasu ('starts to put out etc.'), i-dásu 'starts to stay', ari-dasu 'starts to exist/have', hazime-dásu 'starts to begin it', naki-dásu 'bursts into tears', ...

(3) -kakeru 'begins; does half-way; looks to do: mi-kakeru 'begins to look' (as lexical compound 'catches sight of, sees'), yomi-kakeru, ii-kakéru, sizumi-kakéru, naori-kakeru 'it starts to improve' hassya si-kakéru, hasiri-kakeru; sini-kakéru 'is half-dead'; dasi-kakeru, hazime-kakéru, i-kakéru (ori-kakéru), ? ari-kakeru, kake-kakeru, ki-kakeru ('is ready to come'), ...

From this, by infinitive nominalization (cf. §9.1.7), we get expressions with -kake da, usually adnominalized to -kake no: yari-kake no sigoto 'half-done work', tabe-kake no góhan 'half-eaten food', sui-kake no tabako 'a half-smoked cigarette', kaki-kake no hon 'a half-written book', ... These expressions are always atonic; perhaps this is to be interpreted as: -kakéru --: -káke [infinitive] --: -kaké (da) [§14.5] --: -kake no [-́ + no --: -- no, Part IV, §____].

(4) -owaru 'finishes': yomi-owaru, hazime-owáru ('finishes starting'), ?owari-owáru ('finishes ending'), ...

(5) -tuzukeru 'continues': yomi-tuzukeru, i-tuzukéru ('continues staying'), ari-tuzukeru ('continues existing/having'), tuzuke-tuzukéru ('continues continuing it'), ...

(6) -sokonau 'mis-does (accidentally), fails to do, unsuccessfully does (attempts)': yomi-sokonau 'misreads, fails to read' ; sini-sokonáu 'attempts suicide', ii-sokonáu 'missays; makes a tongue-slip', obore-sokonáu 'nearly drowns', yookoo si-sokonáu 'misses one's chance to go abroad', kooen o kiki-sokonáu 'misses (hearing) a lecture', mondai o toki-sokonau 'fails to solve the problem', ate-sokonáu 'guesses wrong', ... ; *ari-sokonau, ...

(7) -tigaeru 'mistakenly does': yomi-tigaeru 'misreads, erroneously reads', kusuri o nomi-tigaeru 'takes the wrong medicine', ... ;
*sini-tigaéru, *ari-tigaeru, ...

(8) -naosu 're-does (improving), does over (better)': yomi-naosu 're-reads (correctly)', sini-naósu 'does a better job of dying the second time around', naosi-naosu 're-improves it', kimono o sitate-naosu 'alters a garment', tate-naosu 'rebuilds', kazoe-naosu 're-counts', ...;
*ari-naosu, ...

[Cf. muki-naóru 'turns around, faces about', apparently lexical.]

(9) -kaeru 're-does (changing)': ki-kaéru 'changes clothes', nori-kaéru 'changes vehicles'; yomi-kaeru 're-reads' (= yomi-naosu), kaki-kaeru 're-writes' (= kaki-naosu), ...; naosi-kaeru 're-improves', hazime-kaeru 'begins anew', ...; *ari-kaeru, ...

(10) -kaesu 'repeats (the doing of)': yomi-kaesu 'reads over again, repeats a passage', kuri-kaesu 'repeats', ...

(11) -uru / -eru 'can do' [written style and dialect] = potential (§4.4) or -(r)u koto ga dekiru.

(12) -kaneru [1] 'can not do' = negative potential (§4.4 + §8); [2] 'hesitates to do, finds it difficult to do' (in this meaning often negativized 'does not hesitate to do'): dónna koto de mo si-kanénai 'would stop at nothing', ima ni mo naguri-kanenai 'is about to hit me any minute', ari-kaneru 'is hard to have, is not liable to have', ari-kanenai 'is hard not to have, is likely to have'.

(13) -au 'does back and forth, mutually; does together; happens to do [in this meaning lexical?]': home-au 'praise each other', oti-au 'fall together', hore-áu 'fall in love with each other', i-áu 'are staying together'; *ari-au, ...

(14) -mawaru 'goes around doing': asobi-mawáru 'goes around enjoying oneself', tobi-mawáru 'flies around', aruki-mawaru 'walks around', ... ; *ari-mawaru, *i-mawáur, ...

(15) -komu 'does inward, in': nori-kómu 'rides/drives in', suwari-kómu 'sits down', hairi-komu 'slips in (a room etc.)', hore-kómu 'falls in love', kangae-komu 'is deep in thought about' (nani o ...), yoohuku o ki-kónde iru 'is bundled up in one's clothes', ...

(16) -nokosu 'skips doing': ii-nokósita koto 'something unsaid (omitted)', ...

It is not clear in all cases that the auxiliary construction might not better be treated as a lexical compound (despite the grammar-sharing with the infinitive), and there are a number of other verbs on the borderline, e.g. kisyá ni nori-okuréru 'is too late to catch the train'. For more examples of such cases, see C.K. Parker: Dictionary of Japanese Compound Verbs. Note that I am treating -i-tagaru as desiderative (-i-tai) + -garu (§7.2). And -i-másu is treated as stylization (§22.1).

The infinitive which enters into the transforms of this section can be causative or passive: tukaware-dasu 'starts to get used'; it is not clear whether this is true for all the auxiliaries mentioned above [TO BE CHECKED].

The accent pattern is the same as for lexical compound verbs: for younger speakers always tonic; for older speakers (followed here) tonic only if the first verb (the infinitive) is ATONIC.

9.1.11. Infinitive transforms of adjectivals and nominals. We find five different uses of the infinitive of adjectivals and nominals:

(1) One common use is with náru/suru$_1$ to mean 'becomes/makes it into'; this functions as an analog to the verbal passive/causative (§4), though it is possible to take a verbal and adnominalize it to the postadnominal adjectival noun yóo and use that in this infinitive transform: -(r)u yóo ni náru/suru 'get/make it so that it does'. The patterns for this first use are:

Hayái 'It is early/fast'.	—:	Háyaku náru 'It gets to be early/fast'.
		Háyaku suru 'They make it early((earlier)/fast(er)'.
Senséi da 'He is a teacher'.	—:	Senséi ni náru 'He becomes a teacher'.
		Senséi ni suru 'They make him a teacher'.
Byooki da 'He is sick'.	—:	Byooki ni náru 'He gets sick'.
		Byooki ni suru 'It makes him sick'.
Génki da 'He is well'.	—:	Génki ni náru 'He gets well'.
		Génki ni suru$_1$ 'It makes him well'.

Many adjectival nouns occur in this construction (e.g. kírei ni náru/suru 'becomes/makes it pretty or clean') but not all (there seems to be no *sízuka ni suru 'makes it quiet' because — as one informant put it — "quiet is something you can't control"; but sízuka ni náru 'becomes quiet' occurs). See the list of adjectival nouns in §___ for individual restrictions.

These expressions sometimes occur with negatives of adjectivals (Omosíroku náku nátta 'It got to be uninteresting'), occasionally with negatives of nominals involving adjectival nouns: Kantan zya náku nátta 'It got to be un-simple'. The adjective nái is 'non-existent' (negative transform of áru) can be used in this construction: Náku nátta 'It became non-existent', Náku sita 'They made it non-existent'. These two expressions underly derived verbs naku-naru 'gets lost/dies' and naku-su(ru) 'loses', with loss of accent. Negative adjectivals from verbals can be used with náru (Tabénaku náru 'He gets so he doesn't eat'), including those from passives and causatives (Kosasénaku nátta 'We got so we didn't have him come'), but not with suru (*Tabénaku suru 'It makes one so one doesn't eat' = Tabénai yoo ni suru/saseru). Similarly, desiderative adjectives from verbals can be used with náru (Ikitaku nátta 'I got so I wanted to go' and Ikitaku náku nátta 'I got so I didn't want to go', including desideratives based on causatives etc., as in Kosasétaku nátta 'I got so I wanted to have him come'), but not ordinarily with suru except in English-flavored translation style: *Ikitaku náku sita 'It made me so I didn't want to go' = Ikitaku nái yoo ni sita/saseta. And facilitatives (§9.1.8 -yasúi/-íi, -nikúi/-gatái/-zurái) can freely occur in these forms.

Negatives can be built on the new sentences (-ku náru/suru —: -ku naránai/sinai — and even Tabénaku naránai is conceivable to deny Tabénaku náru), as can desideratives (-ku naritái/sitai). other adverbializations (-ku nári-/si- + -hazimeru, -dasu, -owaru, -tuzukeru, -sokonau, -naosu, -kaeru, -uru/-eru; + -gati da, -tate da; -sídai; -nagara, -sugíru; + ni iku/kúru; -ku nátte/site + mo, wa, kara and + auxiliaries iru, míru, oku, símau, yaru, morau, and also -ku site aru but not *-ku nátte aru), potentials (-ku náru/suru kotó ga dekíru, -ku naréru/sareru), etc. Exaltation can be on either the underlying sentence or on náru/suru or on both: O-isogasiku náru/suru, Isogasiku o-nari ni náru / Isogasiku nasáru, O-isogasiku o-nari ni náru / O-isogasiku nasaru; (*O-isogasiku o-nari suru) / O-isogasiku suru, (*Isogasiku o-nari suru) / Isogásiku itasu, (*O-isogasiku o-nari suru) / O-isogasiku itasu.

Nuclear emphasis can be reinforced or reduced on náru/suru: -ku nári wa/mo/sae suru, -ku sí wa/mo/sae suru. (Since the opposite would produce a verbal [-kú wa/mo/sae áru] , it would be susceptible to this construction only by way of adnominalization to yóo [-kú wa/mo/sae áru yoo ni náru/suru].)

The new sentence can be made propositive (-ku naróo/siyoo [to omou]) or imperative (-ku náre/siro).

Verbals can be used in these expressions only after being first adnominalized to the postadnominal adjectival noun yóo, as noted earlier (and in §___): Tabéru yoo ni náru/suru. And this device is also available for adjectivals and nominals: Tabénai yóo ni náru = Tabénaku náru, etc. But verb + yóo ni suru is usually replaced by a simple causative (saseru etc., §4.1). Note, however, the quotation of commands (§16.1, 21): -(r)u yóo ni (to) iu, where we might consider a command form of suru "deleted".

See also the expressions ... kotó ni náru/suru in §14.1.2. And contrast ... to suru/náru (§21.4).

[?somehow to be connected with Sore ga utukusíi 'That is beautiful'].

[As with auxiliaries in general, juncture is reduced to /+/ with corresponding reduction of accent to secondary when there is a preceding primary: Génki ni náru —: Génki ni + nàru. See Pt IV for details.]

(2) A second use is confined to adjectivals and some (? all — see ‖___) adjectival nouns; the infinitive is used as an adverbial build-up:

Hayái 'It is early/fast'. —: Háyaku $suru_2$ 'They do it fast'.
Génki da 'He is healthy'. —: Génki ni $suru_2$ 'He does it in lively fashion.'

The difference between transforms (1) and (2) is more clearly seen when the sentences are expanded with build-up:
(2) A ga hayái 'A is fast' + A ga X o suru 'A does X' —:
A ga háyaku X o $suru_2$ 'A does X fast/soon' (with, as usual, any order for the build-ups depending on emphasis);
(1) A ga hayái 'A is fast' + B ga suru 'B does it' —: B ga A o háyaku suru 'B speeds A up' (With order of infinitive fixed relative to prior subject and object).

It is not entirely clear whether the expansion is carried with the infinitive, but apparently the subject of the new sentence is identical with that of the infinitive (in Type 2), so perhaps it is best derived, as here, from a reduction of two identical subjects (A ga ... + A ga ... —: A ga ...).

Negatives occur: Utukúsiku náku káita 'He wrote unbeautifully', Kírei zya náku káita 'He wrote unneatly'. Sízuka zya náku syabéru 'He talks unquietly'. Omosíroku náku sugósita 'We passed the time uninterestingly'. But some are rejected, e.g. *Génki zya náku in favor of Genki-náku [compound derived from Genki ga nái. ‖___] sigoto o sita 'He did his work unenergetically'.

The remaining three types arise from problems of subject becoming object in the transforms.

(3) Sore ga omosirói/tanosíi 'That is interesting/pleasant' + Sore o míta '(I) saw that' —: (Sore o) omosíroku/tanósiku míta 'I enjoyed seeing it'. A similar case is Tanin no kotó o yóku/wáruku iu 'speaks well/ill of others'. There are negatives: Sore o omosíroku/tanósiku náku míta 'I saw that without enjoyment'. Cf. Hi o omosíroku náku sugósita 'I passed the days in dull fashion' where it is not clear whether Type 2 is preferable analysis. A similar case is Sore o utukúsiku káita 'I wrote it (so that it would be) beautiful'. [Does this occur with adjectival nouns?]

(4) Sore ga arigatái/uresíi/kanasii 'That is obliging/pleasant/sad' + Sore o omótta 'I thought (of) that' —: (Sore o/wa) arígataku/urésiku/kanásiku omótta 'I thought that obliging/pleasant/sad'. This is synonymous with Sore ga arigatái/uresíi/kanasii to omótta, using the quotative to. Another example: Siken-móndai o yasásiku omótta 'I thought the exam questions easy'. An example with an adjectival noun: Sore o husigi ni kangáeru (= Sore ga husigi dá to kangáeru) 'thinks that strange'.

This type seems to be limited to constructions with the verbs omóu 'thinks/feels', kangáeru 'thinks', and kanzíru 'feels', but there may be a few other verbs with similar meanings that have escaped my attention.

There are negatives: (Sore o/wa) anmari arígataku/urésiku/kanasiku/omosíroku náku omótta 'I thought that none too obliging/pleasant/sad/interesting'.

(5) (Sore ga) A-ku / AN ni / N (no yóo) ni +- omowaréru 'is thought/felt', miéru 'seems', kikoeru 'is heard', omoéru 'can be thought/felt', nagameraréru 'is viewed as', kanziraréru 'is felt as', ?etc. E.G. Omosiroku omováreta/ mieta 'It was thought fun'. Myóo ni omowáreta/mieta 'It seemed strange'. There are negatives: (Sore ga/wa) amari omosiroku náku omováreta/mieta. (Sore ga/wa) amari myóo zya náku omováreta/mieta. Cf. -te miéru [19.2.4.(8)]; ... (-i / dá) to vakáru/ kangaeraréru/ omowaréru/ omoéru, [ ]; N ni site vakáru/ kangáe(raré)ru / omó(waré)ru, 21.1.

In addition to the above five types, see also ... kara ni (wa), 17.1.

9.1.12. Verb dropping. From the gerund of some sentences derived from the suru transform of the preceding section ('makes X into Y'), there are adverbial expressions made by dropping the gerund site: X o Y ni site --: X o Y ni. Examples: Kore o kikkake ni seikoo sita 'This (was what) started me succeeding'. Anó hito o usiro-date ni 'With him for a backer; with his support'. P/X o tyuusin ni 'Centering around P/X'.

Note that the presence of a direct object forces us to recognize the deletion of site; if ni were simply the infinitive of the copula 'its being' the nouns would be kore ga, anó hito ga, P/X ga, etc. And note also that the forms with site also occur, so that the deletion can be regarded as a descriptive abbreviation of a real sentence, not a hypothetical process introduced merely to explain the anomaly of a direct object in the absence of a transitive verb.

A similar deletion occurs for the copula gerund: A ga X de, B ga Y da --: A ga X, B ga Y da. (The final da can drop also/instead; and in the same way, a final suru or site can drop in certain styles, e.g. newspaper headlines.) For other deletions of suru, see 14.1.3, 14.3, [ ].

9.2. The gerund. The gerund has the shape -kute (lively form -kugte) for adjectivals, dé for nominals. For vowel verbs the ending is -te; for consonant verbs -te or -de depending on the base, for which there are morphophonemic alternations depending on type:

kák-u	--:	kái-te
kag-u	--:	kai-de
kas-u	--:	kasi-te
kát-u	--:	kág-te = kátte
kár-u	--:	
ká-u [káw-u]	--:	
yob-u	--:	yon-de
yóm-u	--:	yón-de
sin-u	--:	sin-de

The verb iku 'goes' is irregular: the gerund is ig-te (=itte), instead of the expected *i-te. In literary Japanese, the gerund is regularly made by attaching -te to the infinitive, so that the corresponding forms are kákite, kagite, kasite, kátite, kárite, káhite, yobite, yómite, sinite, ikite. The literary adjectival gerund is the same as the colloquial -ku-te; the nominal gerund is made by attaching -te to the copula infinitive ní to make ní-te. Note that ní-te is used in some of the "particle" meanings of dé as well, e.g. 'happening at a place'.

The negative gerund for verbals appears in two forms: Only -(a)ná-kute

(nákute for áru) is used before the particles wa and mo (§9.2.2) but phrase-final 'does not and' is expressed either by -(a)ná-kute (nákute) or, more commonly, by -(a)ná-i de (nái de), the imperfect + the copula gerund. For negative favors and commands only the latter is used: Kónai de kureta "He did us the favor of not coming'. The derived adjectival noun form -(a)zu dá in its infinitive transform -(a)zu ní [with ní sometimes dropped] is also used phrase-final, alongside -(a)nákute and -(a)nái de; apparently these are interchangeable regardless of the nature of the following sentence (statement, command, proposition, etc.), except that -(a)nákute sounds a bit odd before a perfect sentence.

[INSERT SOME EXAMPLES HERE]

Note that negative gerunds (like all negatives) enter into only such further constructions as are appropriate to ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES.

We can say that the gerund has two meanings: 'and (then)' and 'and (so)'. In the 'and(then)' meaning we find the gerund entering into sentences like -te súgu datta 'It was right after (doing)...', -te hazímete da 'It is the first time one has ever (done)...', -te zyunnen-buri da 'It is the first time in ten years (It has been ten years since) one has (done) ...'. The meaning 'and (so)' sometimes takes on quite a strong 'because' flavor [equivalent to -(r)ú/-tá kara, §17.1], and permits a different subject from that of the new sentence: Ame ga hutté kénakatta 'It rained so we couldn't go'. This leads to the following expressions:

(1) -te / -kute / dé + íi 'It is nice that (it does/is)...', [with English adjective] 'It is nice and ...'.

(2) -te / -kute / dé + tamaranai / naránai [cf. -té wa naránai §9.2.2] 'does/is unbearably'. For examples, see Ishigaki 24.

(3) -kute / dé + taihen dá 'It is terribly ...' Múzukásikute taihen da 'It is terribly difficult' = Taihen muzukasii.

Since the gerund is timeless, it takes from the final verb any tense (aspect, mood) needed in translation: I regard the sentence Uti e káette, góhan o tábete, neta 'I went home, ate, and went to bed' as coming first from Uti e káette góhan o tábete neru + PERFECT [-(r)u --: -ta), then that underlying sentence as coming from Uti e káeru + Góhan o tabéru + Neru (with three interpretations of IC possible: ABC, A/BC, AB/C). Another way to look at it would be to say that perfect, imperfect, tentative, propositive, imperative, etc., all convert to the same form in the gerund; that way we would derive the sentence from (Uti e káeru --:) Uti e káetta 'I went home' + (Góhan o tabéru --:) Góhan o tábeta 'I ate' + (Neru --:) Neta 'I went to bed'. This view is rather attractive as a naturalistic paraphrase but it has a number of drawbacks; e.g. unless we excluded the other possible treatment in some unforeseen way, we would expect such sentences to be ambiguous.

In women's speech, the gerund is sometimes used as a question: Tookyoo ni irásyita koto ga átte? (= áru ka?) 'Have you ever been in Tokyo?' And, as a shortening of -te kudasái (§16.2), the verbal gerund is common as an informal command, sometimes followed by né or yo (§15.1, §15.3). Other uses of the gerund are detailed in the following sections.

/9.2.1. Nominalized gerund./ Colloquially, the gerund is used in a nominal sentence with the meaning 'It is because': Áme ga hutté desu 'It is because

it is raining'. Zikan ga nákute desu 'It is because I have no time'. This could perhaps be regarded as a shortening from something like Áme ga hutté sóo (na n) desu 'It is raining and so things are that way'. Compare Ókikute íi desu 'It's nice and big' = 'It's nice because it's big'.

There are a number of adnominalized gerunds that we would expect to derive by way of -té da; many of these are cliché-like in nature and lack the nuclear form:

Hito ni yotté no tigai wa áru ga ... 'There are differences dependent on the person, to be sure, but ...'

Bangoo ni sitagatté no hairetu ... 'Arrangement in accordance with number ...'

Gokai ni motozuité no handan wa ... 'A judgment based on misunderstanding ...'

Réi o ageté no setumei ... 'An explanation citing an example ...'

Sensoo ni tuíite no kízi 'An article about the war ...' [The nuclear sentence is admitted: Sensoo ni tuíite da 'It is about the war'.]

Syoowa 34-nen no sangiin-sénkyo o megutté no senkyo-sikin - móndai de áru 'It is the election-funds problem connecting with (centering around) the election of 1959'.

"Haré" o tukatté no kaiyóo-ku ... 'An idiom using the word "belly" ...'

In addition, there are those with kekka, such as kangáete no kekka '(as) a result of thinking', asobi-súgite no kekka '(as) a result of playing too much', yókudo o tutikawárete no kekka '(as) a result of cultivating rich soil', and special cases like warúguti o itté no tátari 'retribution for saying ill of people'; these can perhaps all be regarded as coming from ...-té da in the meaning 'because'. The other cases, however, will require some different explanation; perhaps an ultimate derivation from -te iru. (Cf. -te iru :-- -ta, §9.2.4: site iru --: -tyuu da, §14.4.)

There are, of course, a few derived nouns and adverbs made from gerunds: hazímete 'for the first time', sitagatte 'consequently', so(o) site 'then, thus', etc. [Noun examples?]

9.2.2. Gerund emphasis reduction and reinforcement. The gerund can be followed by wa to deemphasize it (with the optional abbreviation -té wa --: -'tya, -dé wa --: [-'dya --:] -'zya), or by mo to reinforce it. The meaning of (verbal) -té wa is similar to that of -(r)u to (§17.2) 'when(ever) you do it, if you do it': Uti e káette wa (= káeru to [itu mo]) yoohuku o ki-kaéru 'When I get home I change clother'. The meaning of (verbal, adjectival, or nominal) -té mo is 'even if, even though': Áme ga hutté mo iku 'I am going even if it rains (or even though it is raining)'. Osokuté mo kité kudasai 'Please come even if it's late'. Watakusi dé mo (or Watakusi ní de mo) dekíru 'Even I can do it'. For a lively equivalent of -té mo (--: -té qte) see §15.11. The expression Dé mo (= Dé qte) is a common sentence opener, especially in women's speech.

Gerund + wa/mo leads to the following constructions, interesting as translation problems:

-té (mo) íi/kamawánai/daizyóobu da 'may (safely) do'
-té wa ikenai/naránai/damé da 'must not do' (cf. -te tamaranai/naránai 'does/is unbearably', §9.2)
-(a)nákute (wa) ikenai/naránai/damé da 'must do' (§9.3; = -(a)nákereba naránai/ikenai/damé da)*

..(a)nákute (mo) íi/kamawanai/daiʒyóbu da 'need not do'
..te (mo) muda da 'there is no use doing' (Yatte míte mo muda da 'There is no use trying').

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*These "obligational" sentences are freely shortened to -(a)nákatya: Kaerúnakatyu 'Gotta go home'. Cf. Kaerúnak(ar)ya = Kaerúnakereba (naránai) with the same meaning, §9.3.

Note that the particle mo can drop: Itte íi = Ittté mo íi 'You may go'. There may sometimes be ambiguity (?): Hárete íi can mean either 'It is nice and clear (:-- It is nice because it has gotten clear); or (= Hárete mo íi) 'It is all right even if it is clear - I don't mind if it's clear'. Osókute íi 'It's nice and late' or 'It's all right for it to be late'. Nákute íi 'It's nice that there are none' or 'It is all right even if there are none'. [Is the ambiguity purely a translational problem?]

In all these expressions, adjectivals and copulars (nominals) can appear with the appropriate gerunds (-kute / dé) and meanings ('be' instead of 'do'). Instead of -té wa and -(a)nákute wa you can freely use -(r)u to (§17.2). See also -té no de wa (§14.2.1, §___).

When used with build-ups containing question words (dáre 'who', náni 'what', dóre 'which one', dótira/dótti 'which of two, which way', itu 'when', íkura 'how much', íkutu 'how many', dóo 'how' [literary ika ni], etc.) the reinforced gerund translates as 'ever may do/be': dáre ga kité mo 'whoever may come', náni ga átte mo 'whatever there may be', dóre ga watakusi no dé mo 'whichever one may be mine', dótira ga yásukute mo 'whichever is cheaper', dóno hón o yónde mo 'whichever book you read', etc. Compare the reinforced gerund of nominal sentences containing question words: dáre da 'who is it' --: dáre de mo 'whoever it is; anybody', nán da 'what is it' --: nán de mo 'whatever it may be, whatever it is'. [In these expressions the accent may be removed entirely or shifted to the copula gerund: dáre de mo, dare de mo, or dare dé mo; cf. Pt IV, §___.] And compare the simple reinforcement of the interrogative words: (dáre da --:) dáre dáre mo 'everybody' or [with negative sentence] '(not) anybody, nobody', (náN[i] da --:) náni --: náni mo 'everything' or more commonly 'nothing', (ítu da --:) ítu --: ítu mo 'always' (with both affirmative and negative, since 'never' is késsite), dóo mo 'ever so much, in every which way' or 'in no way'. A similar usage is that of the infinitive of suru (--: si) + mo after dáre: dáre si mo = dáre de mo 'anybody'; possibly the si in ítu-sika 'before you notice' is similar. [Note also erí-simo 'just then', kanarazu-simo '(not) always, necessarily'.]

/9.2.3. Verbal gerund + kara./ The gerund of a verbal sentence can be followed by kara to mean 'after doing', 'after one does/ did/ will do' (with tense, mood, etc., determined by the final verb in the new sentence). When the new sentence is imperfect [-(r)u], the translation is 'has been (doing) since ...': Amerika ni kité kara New-Yórk ni súnde imásu 'I have been living in New York since coming to America'. Usually in these imperfect sentences, kara can be replaced by írai (cf. §2.6): Amerika ni kite írai New-Yórk ni súnde imasu. [For the translational problem involved, compare Nigatú kara byooki da 'I have been sick since February' with Nigatú kara byooki dátta 'I had been sick since February'.] The new sentence may be verbal, adjectival, or nominal.

We can compare here the use of the perfect -ta (§11) adnominalized (§13) to the nominal sentence áto da 'it is after(wards)' to create a new sentence used as a gerund ... -ta áto de 'after doing'. The expression -té kara usually implies

a logical (= causal?) or temporal sequence and often (usually?) has the same subject as the new sentence: A ga X o sita + A ga Y o sita --: A ga X o sité kara, Y o sita 'A, right after he did X, did Y; A did X and then did Y'. The expression -ta áto de 'after doing' implies nothing about sequence except to tell you that the act of the second sentence occurred at some point later in time than the act of the first; the subjects may be the same of different [as with all such time expressions, e.g. -(r)u máe ni, -(r)u aida ni, -(r)u utí ni, etc. -- §13.2]: A ga X o sita + B ga X/Y o sita --: A ga X o sita áto de B ga X/Y o sita 'B did X/Y after (later than) A did X'.

/9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb./ There are a number of auxiliary verbs used with the verbal gerund to make a new verbal sentence. In this and the following section we treat five of these auxiliaries: (1) iru, (2) áru, (3) míru, (4) oku, (5) simau. We should perhaps add consideration of the following auxiliaries:

(6) -te iku 'does receding away, (gradually) goes on/off doing': Kaze wa sidai ni unarí o masite itta 'The wind gradually increased its roar'. Sigoto wa katazúite ikaékatta 'The affair dragged on unsettled'. (Ishigaki 21)

(7) -te kúru 'does approaching, (gradually) comes on/in doing'. Watakusi wa tukárete kitá 'I've grown tired'. Tanaka san kara denwa ga kakátte kitá 'A phone call came from Mr Tanaka'. Náni mo kikoete kónai 'I can't hear a thing'.

NOTE: These two can have a literal 'going' and 'coming' meaning that is often hard to separate from the auxiliary use: káette iku/kúru 'goes/comes back'. Perhaps all cases following the gerund should be treated as auxiliary; the juncture treatment (‖ --: +, Pt IV ‖___) supports this view. But we must distinguish -te iku/kúru in the meaning of 'do an errand'. In English we say 'go/come and do' (omitting the final 'return'); in Japanese you omit the initial movement and say 'do and come/go': Sinbun o katte kitá 'He went and bought a newspaper (and brought it back)'. Heyá o soozi site ikimasyó ka 'Shall I come clean your room (and then go)?' (or 'Shall I clean your room before going?')

(8) -te miéru 'appears to do or have done' (Ishigaki 11, 32): Kárе ni wa mati no yoosu wa sukkári tigatte míeta 'To him the town appeared completely changed'. Sikaru to onna no kao ga sákete míeta 'On being scolded, the woman's face seemed to crack'. Itu ni náku sizunde míeta 'She appeared to have sunk (drowned) in no time at all'.

(9) -te miséru 'displays in doing' (Ishigaki 22): Táguti wa oogesa ni odorókite míseta 'Taguchi showed exaggerated surprise'. Ono wa soo itte námida no tamatta mé de waratte míseta 'Ono put on a smile with his tear-filled eyes as he said that'.

In §10 we give a separate treatment to auxiliaries of favor: (10) -te yaru/ageru, (11) -te kureru/kudasáru, (12) -te morau/itadaku.

All of the constructions with our first five auxiliaries [and the others too?] can have wa (for reduced emphasis) or mo/sae (for reinforced emphasis) [E.g. Háitte sae ireba íi n desu 'Just so it's inside, that's OK'.] inserted after the gerund. Either the auxiliary or the gerund, or both, can be negativized (§8), with slightly different meanings:

(1) site inai 'is not doing/done (etc)'
sinái de iru 'is getting along without doing; stays without doing'
sinái de inai 'is not getting along (staying) without doing'

(2) site nái 'is not done'
sinái de áru 'stays un-done (not yet done)'
sinái de nái 'does not stay un-done'

(3) site mínâi 'doesn't try doing it'
sinái de míru 'tries not doing it'
sinái de mínai 'doesn't try not doing it'

(4) site oknai 'doesn't do it for later'
sinái de oku 'lets it go without doing it'
sinéi de okenai 'doesn't let it go without doing it'

(5) site simewanai 'doesn't end up doing' (etc.)
sinái de simau 'ends up not doing'
sinéi de simewanai 'doesn't end up not doing'

Similar with respect to negativization and emphasis are the uses of the gerund with favor-giving and favor-receiving (§10).

Subject exaltation can occur for either or (redundantly) both of the two parts of the expression:
o-kaki ni nátte iru/míru/oku/simau
káite irassyáru / goran ni náru / o-oki ni náru / o-simai ni náru
o-kaki ni nátte irassyáru / goran ni náru / o-oki ni náru / o-simai ni náru.
But [with the exception of -te iru] object exaltation can (at most) occur only with the gerund:
o-kaki site míru/oku/simau, but not *káite (or o-kaki site) haiken suru / o-oki suru / o-simai suru. Exceptionally, you find o-kaki site iru, káite oru, and o-kaki site oru. [Cf. exaltation with favors, §10).

9.2.4.(1) -te iru (/oru / irassyaru / oide ni náru). [Abbreviations -te 'ru (with accent peculiarities for -té 'ta, Pt IV §____), -t' oru.]

For transitive verbs this ordinarily has two meanings: (1a) 'is doing regularly; does regularly (all the time)' and (1b) 'is in the process (act) of doing, is doing'. For some transitive verbs and almost all intransitive verbs the meaning is either (1a) or (1c) 'is (in the state resulting from the action happening and changing things)'.

If we permit the gerund to have more than one derivation (i.e. allow at least the perfect to operate before the gerund), we might derive the first meaning from the imperfect -(r)u 'does it' and the third from the perfect -ta 'did it (so that it got that way)'. But the difference between 1a and 1b seems irresolvable by any route. In the case of verbal nouns, the verbal sentence is further transformable from ... site iru in meaning 1b to the synonymous -tyuu da: syukúsya o kentiku site iru 'they are building dormitories' --: syukúsya o kentiku-tyuu da (§14.4 -- this is somewhat formal, more often written than spoken).

The following are some of the transitive verbs that behave like the intransitives in taking the meaning 'is in the state (as a result of doing)' as well as the other meanings listed:

uti o déte iru 'has left the house' or 'leaves the house regularly' (but not 'is leaving the house');
matí o tétte iru 'has left town' or 'leaves town regularly',
yuubín-kyoku o tóotte iru 'is past (has passed) the post-office' or 'passes the post-office regularly';
miti o arúite iru 'is out (walking) on the street' or 'is walking the street' or 'walks the street regularly';
sóra o tonde iru 'is (flying) in the sky' or 'is flying the sky' or 'flies the sky regularly'.

Other transitive verbs that permit the resultative meaning include sinbun o tóru 'takes a newspaper', yaru/ageru 'gives', kureru/kudasáru 'gives (us)', morau 'receives', ... [? 'wearing' verbs; ? uru 'sells;]; and X o Y ni suru 'makes X into Y' (§9.1.11). [The ambiguity of Génki ni suru 'It makes him well / He does it (or is doing it) in lively fashion' also remains in Génki ni site iru 'It made him well / He does it (or is doing it) in lively fashion'.]

The following verbs do not occur in the -te iru construction: áru (*átte iru), i-ru itself and synonyms (*ite iru, *otte iru etc.), ir-u 'is necessary' (/itte iru/ can only be from iku or iu), dekíru 'can be done' (dékite iru means 'is produced, is ready') and all potentials (§4.4 -- but passives as passives are accepted, also causatives.)

/9.2.4. (2) -te áru (/gozaimásu)./ [Abbreviation -t' áru in Kansai speech only.] This expression occurs for many transitive verbs to produce a kind of passive-resultative meaning 'It is in the state resulting from the doing to it of ...':
(A ga) X o VT-(r)u. --: X ga VT-te áru.
I have been unable to elicit examples for certain transitive verbs: those for 'wearing' garments of various kinds (kiru, haku, kabúru, hameru, kakéru, tuké́ru, siméru, musubu -- in their 'wear' meanings), for 'bringing' things (motu, tóru [tótte áru however can mean 'is reserved, taken' or 'is taken away, removed'], but hakande áru seems to be acceptable from hakobu), or for mátu 'waits for'. Utte áru 'It is sold' seems to be all right, with at least some speakers, as is Katte áru 'It is bought'. Tomodati ga yonde áru 'The friend is called/invited' is acceptable. Míte áru can be used in the sense of 'They [cards, etc.] have been checked' or 'It has been witnessed' and Kíite áru 'It has been heard (listened to)' can be used in a similar way. CAUSATIVES from all verbs, including those that otherwise resist taking the construction, readily produce the -te áru form.

The expression can be made negative -te nái (see earlier discussion), but the infinitive form -te náku seems to be limited to use as a written synonym to -te nákute 'it is not and ...'. (That is, the expected *-te náku náru/suru seems not to occur.)

/9.2.4. (3) -te míru./ Both transitives and intransitives freely make expressions with gerund + míru to mean 'does and sees how it will be, tries it out, does as a sample, tries doing' [but NOT 'tries to do' = -(y)oo to suru, §21.4]. Said to be excluded are some verbs that could not involve voluntary actions: áme ga míru 'it rains', kaze ga bukú 'the wind blows', ikíru 'lives', simu 'dies'. But it is not clear that these are clearly excluded (even leaving aside the possibility of personification in the first two instances). Not only do i-ru and súmu acceptably produce ite míru 'tries staying' and súnde míru 'tries residing', but 'átte m'íru can also be found: Kono zyootai ga átte míte mo íi 'We can try having this situation', ... -(r)u kotó ga átte míru 'tries the practice of ...-ing'. And even áru as a dummy auxiliary (after modal emphasis

reduction or reinforcement) can sometimes take this construction: byooki dé wa átte míru 'tries being ill'. It seems to be acceptable to say Dékite mítara íi 'It would be nice to try producing it' (? or '...to try being able to do it').

Accepted are passives -(r)aretê míru 'tries having it done to one' and favor-receipts (site moratte míru 'tries letting someone do it for one') as are nátte míru 'tries becoming' (9.1.11) and ótite míru 'tries falling'. Hená ga saite míru 'The flowers try blooming' would appear only in the personifying context of a children's book, but ... saite mítera angai kírei de nákatta can occur with the meaning 'When they bloomed, they turned out to be surprisingly lacking in beauty'.

9.2.6. (4) -te oku. [Abbreviation -t' oku.] Both transitives and intransitives use the gerund + oku to mean 'does it for later, does it now (in preparation, or to free oneself for other activity)'. Involuntary actions are said to be excluded: árú (*atte oku), ir-u 'is necessary' (/itte oku/ could only be from iku or iu),... But Áme ga hutté oku seems to be possible (personification?): Áme ga hutté oite kuretára... 'If it will just be kind enough to rain in advance...'. And dékite oku seems to be all right in Oyogí gurai dékite oitára íi 'It's better to get able to swim (= learn oboéru) in advance'. Certain other verbs are semantically strained: sinde oku 'dies (to get it out of the way)', súnde oku 'takes up residence (to avoid some consequence otherwise)', ótite oku 'gets one's fall [e.g. by parachute] out of the way'. Other examples which might be doubted are found acceptable: favor-receipts (site moratte oku 'lets someone do it for one now'), passives (sarete oku 'lets it get done to one so as to be ready/free for further action or suffering'), nátte oku 'becomes (now so that later ...)', kawatte oku 'turns into (now so that later ...)', isóide oku 'hurries now (so that later one can take it easy)', oyóide oku 'gets the swimming out of the way now (because of possible bad weather later, etc.)', ite oku 'stays there now (so that later ...)', uti o déte oku 'gets out of the house now (so that later ...)', mati o tátte oku 'gets out of town now (so that later...)', arúite oku 'walks now (so that later ...)'.

9.2.4. (5) -te simau. [Abbreviations -timau, -tyau.] Most verbs, transitive and intransitive, make expressions with gerund + simau 'does completely, finishes up (the doing of)' or 'ends up doing'; involuntary acts are included, and even ir-u --: itte simau 'ends up needing' or (below) 'needs it dammit' is now heard. The expression is often abbreviated to -ty(im)au, and -tyatta is frequently used just as a strong past. Often -te simatta shows annoyance or displeasure at the sudden deterioration of a good situation or the frustration of one's expectations: Saihu o otósite simatta 'I lost my purse -- I WOULD go and lose my purse!' Compare Simátta 'Dammit!' [usually said to be from simáru]. Quite recently the -tyau form has been spreading in Tokyo to lend an implication of undesirability to the verb, something like -(r)u/-tá kara iyá da: Hayaku kéttyatta 'They (or we) had to go home early (dammit)'; Nán de mo nómyau 'He'll drink any damn thing'. In this usage even áru can occur: Áttyatta 'We had too many of them (so please don't hesitate to accept this one as a gift -- you're doing us a favor by taking it off our hands, we wanted to get rid of it)'.

9.2.5. Auxiliary constraints and sequences. All gerund auxiliaries (including those with favors §10) can have nuclear emphasis shifts in the auxiliary itself (e.g. -te í sae sureba, -te okí wa sinai, -te simaí mo suru, etc) or in the

underlying sentence (-í sae site iréba, -í wa site okanai, -í mo site simau). But nuclear emphasis apparently is not reapplied to an auxiliary sentence formed on a sentence to which it has already been once applied: *-í wa/mo/sae site í (oki, simaí) wa/mo/sae suru.

Auxiliary sentences can generally be made on the -ku nár-/suru constructions of §9.1.11 (-ku nátte/site iru/míru/oku/simau/yaru/moraú/...) with the exception of *-ku nátte áru which does not occur; -ku site áru is accepted.

All auxiliary sentences can undergo the following further transforms: concurrent -i-nagara (§9.1.3), -i˘gati da (§9.1.5),; evidential -i-sóo da (§20); desiderative -i-tai (§7); alternative -tári (§9.5), perfect -ta (§11); and negative (applied either to the underlying sentence or to the auxiliary, or to both, as mentioned earlier). Tentative -(r)ú daroo (§12.1) can apply to all auxiliaries, but propositive -yoo (§12.2) like imperative -e (§16.1) can not apply to -te áru (just as áru tíself lacks the forms -- so that whenever you see -te aróo or aróo you know they are literary tentatives, §12.3, equivalent to colloquial -te áru daróo and áru daróo). For -i ni iku (§9.1.1) we find all auxiliaries except iru and áru (no *-te i/árí ni iku). For -té kara (§9.2.3) we find all except áru (no *-te átte kara despite átte kara, e.g. in ... kotó ga átte kara). For causatives and passives (in all meanings [with possibly some exceptions]) we find all except áru (no *-te araséru, *-te araréru, just as there is no *araséru; and araréru occurs only as a subject-exalting form, not as a passive). The transform -i˘tate da (§9.1.6) occurs for -te míru/yaru/moraú but not for -te iru/oku/(?) simau [? nónde simai-tate da].

As noted earlier, subject exaltation can generally be applied either to the sentence underlying the gerund or to the auxiliary; but object exaltation is better limited to the gerund (though o-kaki site iru and even o-kaki site oru occur alongside káite oru).

Can auxiliary transforms be re-applied to sentences already containing one such? With the exception of re-application to itself, there are few restrictions; only -te áru and -te iru seem limited. Here is a chart of possible sequences:

	-te ira	-te nui	-te sira	-te miru	-te simau	-te yaru	-te moraú
te ira	-	-	-	-tra îte miru	-	-te îte yaru	-te [illegible]
te óru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
te oru	-	-te oite oru	-	-te oite miru	-te oite simau	-te oite yaru	-te [illegible]
te miru	-te mite iru	-te mite oru	-te mite oru	-	-te mite simau	-te mite yaru	-te mite [illegible]
te simau	-te simatte iru	-te simatte ôru	-te simatte oru	-te simatte miru	-te	-te simatte yaru	-te simatte [illegible]
te yaru	-te yatte iru	-te yatte óru	-te yatte oru	-te yatte míru	-te yatte simau	-	?-te yatte [illegible]
te moraú	-te morate iru	-te morate óru	-te morate oru	-te morate míru	-te morate simau	?-te morate yaru	-

Now the question arises: After having reapplied auxiliary transformation to a prior (different) auxiliary, can we continue the process until all different possibilities have been exhausted? E.g.:

(1) -te ite míte iru
-te ite míte áru
-te ite míte oku
-te ite míte simau
-te ite míte yaru/morau

(2) -te ite yatte iru
-te ite yatte áru
-te ite yatte oku
-te ite yatte míru
-te ite yatte simau
-te ite yatte morau

(3) -te oite míte iru
-te oite míte áru
-te oite míte simau
-te oite míte yaru/morau
-te oite míte oku

(4) -te oite yatte iru
-te oite yatte aru
-te oite yatte oku
-te oite yatte míru
-te oite yatte simau
-te oite yatte morau

(5) -te oite simatte iru
-te oite simatte áru
-te oite simatte oku
-te oite simatte míru
-te oite simatte yaru/morau

(6) -te oite moratte iru
-te oite moratte áru
-te oite moratte oku
-te oite moratte míru
-te oite moratte simau
-te oite moratte yaru

(7) -te míte ite míru
-te míte ite yaru/morau

(8) -te míte oite iru
-te míte oite áru
-te míte oite simau
-te míte oite yaru/morau
-te míte oite míru

(9) -te simatte ite míru
-te simatte ite yaru/morau

(10) -te simatte oite áru
-te simatte oite míru
-te simatte oite simau
-te simatte oite yaru/maru

(11) -te yatte ite míru
-te yatte ite morau
-te yatte ite yaru

(12) -te yatte oite áru
-te yatte oite míru
-te yatte oite simau
-te yatte oite yaru
-te yatte oite morau

(13) -te yatte míte iru
-te yatte míte áru
-te yatte míte oku
-te yatte míte simau
-te yatte míte yaru
-te yatte míte morau

(14) -te morette ite míru
-te maratte ite yaru
-te morette ite marau

(15) -te morette oite áru
-te morette oite míru
-te morette oite simau
-te morette oite yaru
-te morette oite marau

etc. etc. (through further cycles)?

/9.3. The provisional./ All sentences take a provisional form with the meaning 'provided that, if' often synonymous with -(r)u to §7.2 or -té wa §9.2.2 in the meaning 'whenever, if'. When used with a reinforced build-up (X mo)and followed by a sentence with a reinforced build-up (Y mo ...) the translation is 'both X (happens) and Y (happens)': Kaze ga fukéba ame mo furu 'The wind blows and it rains, too' (Cf. Kaze ga fuketa ame mo furu 'Whenever the wind blows it also rains'). Sakana mo tóreba kari mo suru 'We both fish and hunt'. Watakushi mo ikéba otooto mo iku 'Both my brother and I are going'. Okane mo nákereba zikan mo nái 'I have neither time nor money'.

The forms are made by attaching to consonant verbs -éba (optionally -ya) to vowel verbs -reba (optionally -rye), to adjectives -kereba (optionally -kerya or -kya), and to nominals nára (optionally expanded to nára-ba -- cf. particle sequence o ba §2.3):

Yobu. --: Yoboba / Yóbya 'If you call'.
Miru. --: Mireba / Mírya 'If you look at it'.
Ookí. --: Ookikereba / Ookikerya / Ookikya 'If it is big'
Hón da. --: Hón nara / Hón nara-ba 'If it is a book'
Sízuka da. --: Sízuka nara / Sízuka nara-ba 'If it is quiet'

Provisionals are freely made from all sentences, including causatives, passives, exalting sentences, desideratives, negatives, gerund + auxiliary, etc. Provisional negatives translate as 'provided/if it does/is not' or 'unless it does/is'. This leads to the obligation expression -(a)nákereba naránai / ikenai / dame da, a synonym of -(a)nákute wa ikenai / naránai / dame da (§9.2.2) 'must'. Just as -(a)nákute wa ikenai is optionally shortened to -(a)nákutya, §9.2.2, -(a)nákereba naránai can be shortened to -(a)nákerya or -(a)nákya: Kaerának(er)ya 'Gotta go home'.

In Kansai speech (and often in written Japanese) the form -(a)néba, abbreviation -(á)nya, is used in place of -(a)nákereba, and the abbreviation -(a)n from -(a)nai (§8) is spelled -(a)mu, so that you will find forms like Kakáneba narámu = Kakénakereba naránai (Kakénakerya narán) 'I must write'. The form corresponding to sinakereba/sinak(er)ya (...sinai) is irregularly seneba (...semu).

The provisional is also used to introduce a sentence 'does/is' etc. to be manipulated into one that means 'the more one does/is the more...': S_1 --: S_1-(r)éba S_1-(r)u hodo (§2.4) S_2. The sentence ("S") may be verbal ("V"), adjectival ("A"), or Nominal ("N"), and the provisional may be replaced by the conditional (giving it an unreal flavor 'might...would') but not by -(r)u to (§17.2):

Kono hón o yómeba (yóndara) yómu hodo wakáru 'The more I read of this book the more I understand it'.

Ókikereba (Ókikattara) ookí hodo íi 'The bigger the better'.

Byooki nára (Byooki dáttara) byooki hodo tabénaku náru 'The sicker I get the less I eat'.

Sízuka nara (Sízuka dattara) sízuka na hodo suki da 'The quieter it is the better I like it'.

Either or both sentences can be negative, with 'more' changed to 'less':

Anó hito ni awánakereba (awánakattara) awánai hodo íi 'The less I see of him the better'.

Anó hito ni áeba (áttara) áu hodo aítaku néku náru 'The more I see of him the less I want to see him'.

Anó hito ni awánakereba (awánakattara) awánai hodo aítaku néku náru 'The less I see of him the less I want to see him.'

Note the use of the provisional (and synonyms) in the following expressions:

-ta to surébe (§11 + §21.4 + §9.3)
-tá no nara (§11 + §14.2 + §9.3)
-tá no de wa (§11 + §14.2 + §9.2.2)
} 'if (any) one should ...'

[-(r)ú/-tá] no o míreba = -(r)ú/tá kara ni wa 'seeing that...; just because...'

Translation of the negative provisional (sinákereba 'provided one does not do' -- and synonyms sinai to §17.2, sinai kotó ni wa §14.1) is often smoother with English 'unless' + affirmative ('unless one does').

/9.4. The conditional./ All sentences make a conditional form with the meaning 'if/when (in the past)'. In contrast with the provisional 'if' which means 'provided that' and indicates a 50-50 likelihood, the -tára 'if' means 'suppose that' and implies doubt or unreality; hence, if the concluding sentence is to be in the past it must be put into the perfect tentative -tá daróo (§12.1): Sono hón o yóndara wakátta daróo 'If I had read that book I would have understood'. Otherwise the meaning will be 'when': Sono hón o yómdara wakátta 'When I read

that book, I understood'. Te o akete mítara sóto wa akarui tukíyo datta 'When I opened the door (to see) it was a bright moonlit night outside.' When the concluding sentence is imperfect tentative (Wakáru daróo 'I'll probably understand'), either -tára or -(r)éba can be used with the difference of likelihood shown: Sono hón o yóndara wakáru daróo 'If I should read that book [as well I may not] I'll understand' - Sono hón o yóma to wakáru daróo.

Either the conditional or (less commonly) the provisional can be used in seeking and giving advice 'it would be good (better) to do what?': Dóo sitára íi (daróo) ka or Dóo suréba íi (daróo) ka 'What should I do?' Migi no hóo e ittára íi daróo or Migi no hóo e ikéba (= iku to) íi daróo 'You should go to the right'. In giving advice, you can instead use the expression corresponding to English 'had better': -ta hóo ga (§13.2) íi 'the alternative of doing ... is better' as in Migi no hóo e itta hóo ga íi daróo 'You had better go to the right'. This can also be used as a way of asking advice, on selecting between two alternative courses of action: Migi no hóo e itta hóo ga íi desyóo ka (hidari no hóo e itta hóo ga íi desyóo ka) 'Would it be better to go to the right (or to the left)?' Compare -(r)u hóo ga íi 'It is better to (do)'.

Somewhat surprisingly, a conditional sentence can be quoted (§21) in the form -tára to omóu 'I wish that ...' or 'I hope that ...', but this is perhaps better treated as a shortening of -tára íi (to omóu) '(I think that) it would be nice if...'.

The conditional is freely made from all sentences including causatives, passives, exalted sentences, desideratives, negatives, gerund + auxiliary, etc. It is made by attaching to verbals -tára/-dára (morphophonemic alternations identical with those of the gerund), to adjectivals -káttara, and to nominals dáttara. All of these forms are optionally extendable by -ba: -tára-ba, káttara-ba, dáttara-ba. Cf. copula provisional nára-ba and particle sequence o ba (§2.3). Note that in -kéreba and -(r)éba, the -ba is not (today) an extension, but part of the ending, since -kére does not (today) occur except before /ba/ and we do not want to relate -eba with the imperative -e since that would not conform with the morphophonemics of -(r)eba in attaching to vowel verbs as -reba.

It might be possible to say that the conditional is the perfect -ta (§11) + a particle or extension -ra (occurring nowhere else), perhaps as an abbreviation of -tá (no) nara; cf. end of preceding section and §17.7.

9.5. The alternative. Every sentence can be turned into an "alternative" form which has the meaning 'doing/ being such a thing as' with the implication that the action or state is either REPRESENTATIVE (typical) or ALTERNATING with some other action(s) or state(s) 'off and on'. The "alternative" adverbialization is most often followed up with the dummy verb suru to make a new sentence: Háittari (dátari) suru 'They keep coming in (and going out)'. Note that the subject of the several alternating sentences may be a single person doing several things (Aná hito ga X o sitári Y o sitári suru 'He does X and Y') or it may be several persons either all doing the several things or each doing something different: Hitóbito ga X o sitári Y o sitári suru 'People do X and Y every one of them' or People do various things, some doing X, some doing Y'.

The resulting sentence can be changed to mean 'can do such things as' by adding kotó ga dekíru, and suru kotó ga freely drops (§14.2.3) so that you find sentences like Háittari dátari (suru kotó ga) dekíru 'They can (do such things as) enter and leave'. The verb suru, or dekíru (shortening of suru kotó

ga dekíru), can be separated from the -tári by the particles wa and mo; i.e. it is possible to reduce or reinforce the emphasis of the -tári sentence in a way similar to the way you do it for the nuclear sentence (X o yobu --: X o yobí wa/mo suru; Ookíi --: ôkiku wa/mo áru; Hón da --: Hón de wa/mo áru). Examples are: Tábetari netári suru daké/bákari desu ka? Iie, benkyoo sitári mo suru 'Do you must eat and sleep? No, I study, too'. Netári ókitari wa sinai 'I don't just go to bed and get up etc.'

The following are some resulting sentences:

(1) Tegami o káki mo sitári, hón o yómi mo sitári suru.
(2) Tegami mo káitari, hón mo yóndari suru.
(3) Tegami o káki mo hón o yómi mo sitári suru.
? (4) Tegami o káki mo hón mo yóndari suru.
(5) Tegami o káitari mo, hón o yóndari mo suru.
? (6) Tegami o káitari, hón mo yóndari suru.
? (7) Tegami mo káitari, hón o yóndari suru.
(8) Tegami o káitari, hón o káitari mo suru.
? (9) Tegami o káitari, hón o yóndari sí { mo/wa suru. / sae surúba...

It is also possible to have adverbial build-ups for the dummy suru: Nihongo de káitari yóndari ítu mo site iru 'We are always writing and reading in Japanese'. Tábetari yónda dari koko dé wa sinai 'We don't eat and drink here'. [[Insert more examples showing -tári split from suru.]]

Sentences may contain one or more -tári sentences + suru; those that contain more than one can freely replace suru with dá (i.e. turn the verbal sentence into a nominal one): Háittari détari da. Yókattari wárukattari da. Ryooki dáttari génki dattari da. This means that the alternative sentence has been nominalized. And the nominal can be adnominalized in regular fashion (with dá changing to no [13]): Huttári yandári no ténki da 'It is the sort of weather that rains off and on'. The nominal can go through most of the expected transforms:

Netári ó ókitari da 'They are lying down and getting up (severally or alternatively)' --:

Netári ókitari sya nái.
" " ni tigai nái.
" " ni sugínai.
" " ni wa miéru.
" " no haru/tumori da.
" " ná no da.
" " syá nái no da.
? " " nagara (no)
etc. etc.

Many of these sentences seem a bit "hypostatic", as if the phrase were being quoted; perhaps that accounts for the occurrence even as subject (Netári ókitari ga suki da 'I like to lie down and get up') and, at least for some speakers, as object (Netári ókitari o konómu 'I like to lie down and get up'). We might want to consider all cases of nominalized -tári sentences as abbreviations of the full sentence -tari suru + no da, i.e. -tári (suru) no da. [The abbreviation would then be said to be restricted to sentences containing more than one -tári.]

The forms are made by attaching to verbals -tári/-dári (morphophonemic alternations identical with those for the gerund), to adjectivals -kattari, and to nominals dáttari. Just as we might consider the conditional as the perfect

-ta + particle or extension -ra (occurring nowhere else), we might similarly consider the alternative as the perfect -ta + a particle or extension -ri (occurring nowhere else -- perhaps historically an abbreviation of the infinitive ári).

9.6. The negative precopular noun. Apparently borrowed from literary Japanese, there is a negative form -(a)zu, best treated as a regularly derived precopular noun (§13.8) of a special subtype. This form can underly a nominal sentence (when followed by the copula dá) to mean 'does not, gets along without doing': San-zíkan no nezu désu 'He doesn't sleep three hours (even)'. But it is usually followed by the copula infinitive ní (a literary touch where we would expect instead the gerund dé) to mean 'does not do and (instead)' or 'instead of doing' or 'without doing'. The ní is optionally omittable (cf. §9.1.12, §14.6); that is unusual for a precopular or an adjectival noun (though yóo and mítai are similar, §___). In this use, the -(a)zu forms are more often written than spoken; speakers prefer the more relaxed -(a)nái de or -(a)nákute to carry the same meaning.

These negative precopular nouns can be made from every verb but áru; árazu does not occur except in written Japanese. There we even find a form for the copula, based on ni áru, in the expression ... ni árazu site (musiro ... de áru) as in Hito wa pán nomi nite ikíru monó ni árazu site, músiro ... 'Man does not live by bread alone, but rather is ...'
Note the irregularities of kúru and suru:

Kúru. --: Kónai. --: Kózu (da).
Suru. --: Sínai. --: Sezu (da).

In speech it is somewhat less common to hear exalting verbs in these forms (nasárazu, itasazu; irasayárazu, orazu; o-moraí ni nárazu, itadakazu, etc.)

Sentences with -(a)zu dá are a bit stiff in any form other than advertial (with or without ni); but you often hear V-(a)zu W-(a)zu in various forms: Nómazu kúwazu da (--: da kara, de to, nara, dattara, etc.) 'goes without drinking or eating'. In place of -(a)zu dé mo/wa you are more likely to hear -(a)zu (ni) ité mo: Nómazu kúwazu ni ité mo 'Even going without drinking or eating'. The V-(a)zu W-(a)zu da sentence can be adnominalized: Nómazu kúwazu no hazu da 'He must be going without drinking or eating'. A single -(a)zu dá sentence can also be adnominalized: Sono shikén de san-zíkan no nezu no hazu da 'With that exam, he won't get three hours sleep (even)'.

An expression often heard is N ní mo kakawárazu [or, with direct nominalization §14.6, -(r)ú ni mo kakawárazu] 'in spite of, regardless of its being'. The literary expression -(a)záru o énai, which can be regarded as an abbreviation of -(a)zu áru (mo) o énai [direct nominalization being the rule in literary Japanese], means 'cannot help doing' and is equivalent to the colloquial -(a)nákereba narúnai and synonyms (§9.3).

10. Favors. To speak of giving or receiving a favor, you use the verbal gerund -te (§9.2) or its negative -(a)nái de (§8) followed by a verb of giving (yaru/ageru 'gives others', kureru/kudasáru 'gives us') or receiving (morau/itadaku). The expansions with favor-giving are the same as with gift-giving.

A ga B ni X o yaru/ageru (kureru/kudasáru) 'A gives X to B'.
A ga B ni X o site yaru/ageru (kureru/kudasáru) 'A does X for B'.

But there is a slight difference between gift-receiving and favor-receiving:
B ga A ni/kara X o morau/itadaku 'B gets X from A'.
B ga A ni X o site morau/itadaku 'B gets A to do X -- B receives the favor of A doing X for him'. [However A kara seems to be found, too, so that the difference is one of statistical preference: gifts kara, favors ni.]

If the subject of object is to be exalted, the exaltation carries over intact from the underlying sentence, regardless of subject switches in the transformed sentence:
Senséi ga ano gakusei o o-yobi ni náru 'The teacher calls that student' --:
Senséi ga watakusi ni ano gakusei o o-yobi ni nátte kureru 'The teacher is kind enough to call that student for me'. --:
Watakusi ga/wa senséi ni ano gakusei o o-yobi ni nátte morau/itadaku 'I am favored to have the teacher call that student for me'.
Watakusi ga senséi o o-yobi suru 'I call the teacher'. --:
Watakusi ga gakusei ni senséi o o-yobi site yaru/ageru 'I call the teacher for the student'. --:
Gakusei ga/wa watakusi ni senséi o o-yobi site morau 'The student has me call the teacher for him (as a favor)'.
The given or received favor as a new sentence enters fairly freely into further transformations, such as negative, desiderative, adverbializations, etc. Thus, either the gerund or the auxiliary of giving/receiving (or both) can be subject to the subsequent transforms; e.g. with the negative:
site kurenai 'doesn't do it for me'
sináí de kureru 'avoid/stops doing it as a favor to me'
sináí de kurenai 'does not do me the favor of not doing it'
site moraenai 'doesn't get the favor/kindness of their doing it'
sináí de moran 'gets the favor of their not doing it'
sináí de moraenai 'doesn't get the favor of their not doing it'.
Cf. §9.2.4.

In place of -te moraitai '(I) would like to have it done' for the desiderative favor, you sometimes hear -te hosíi. An impersonal 'We would like to have it done, it would be desirable to have it done' is often expressed by the simple passive desiderative: saretai. Note the interesting example given by Ishigaki (p.23): Zyozyúu-tati kara omosirŏ násutan da to omoweretái 'I want to be thought a pleasant master by the women helpers'. A rather special case is the causative desiderative in Áme o/ga hurasétaku nái mon desu né 'We sure don't want to let it rain, do we' = 'I sure hope it won't rain'.

These favor-receiving expressions are often used to express wishes, hopes, or advice: Soo site itadakanákute wa (itadakenai to, itadakanákereba) komarimásu 'It will be too bad (a shame) if you don't do it'; Soo site itadakanákattara hoodoo desyŏ 'It would be too bad (a shame) if you didn't do it'. A polite way to request or assume permission is to use -(s)asete itadaku 'I receive the exalted favor of your letting me (do) ...': Yomásete itadakimásu 'Let me read it'. Ottotŏ o turete kosásete itadakemaseń ka (= ... turete kité íi ka?) 'May I bring my little brother?'

/11. Perfect./ Any sentence that results from operations in preceding sections can be made perfect by attaching to verbals the ending -ta/-da (with the same morphophonemics as the gerund -te/-de, to adjectivals the ending -kátta, and to nominals the copula perfect dátta:
Yobu. --: Yonda 'He called'.
Ookíi. --: Ookikatta 'It was big'.
Hón da. --: Hón datta 'It was a book'.

Since negative sentences are all adjectivals, they conjugate like adjectives:
Yoberanai. --: Yobanákatta 'He did not call'.
Ókiku nái. --: Ókiku nákatta 'It was not large'.
Hón zya nái. --: Hón zya nákatta 'It was not a book'.

Note that perfects can also be subjected to first-restriction (§2.4), this serves as an additional argument in favor of saying that dake, bákari, etc. are at the same time postadnominals (§13.2).

The perfect sentence can be made Tentative (§12.1); it can be Adnominalized (§13), Nominalized (§14), Sentence-Extended (§15), Conjunctionalized (§17), Hearsay-reported (§18), Semblativized (§19), Quoted (§21), and Stylized (§22), just as the nuclear imperfect sentence from which it is here derived.

Although the perfects can not be adverbialized (nor built on adverbialized sentences), there is some correlation of use between the conditional -tára and the perfect -ta as contrasted with the provisional -(r)éba and the imperfect -(r)u. And we have suggested (but rejected) the possibility that the gerund -te might be naturalistically regarded as sometimes derived from a perfect -ta instead of the imperfect.

12. Tentative and propositive. In Japanese morphology there is a form often labeled the "tentative", but this turns out to correspond to two different things in colloquial Japanese: (1) the tentative 'probably, I think', made by adding daróo after the plain imperfect (with ... da dropping in the nominal sentences), and (2) the propositive 'let's, let me, I think I will' made by attaching, to verbals only, the ending -(y)oo. [The ending is -oo after consonant verbs, -yoo after vowel verbs.] In dialects and in the written language, some propositives are allowed to have the tentative meaning; such forms we will call "Literary Tentatives" (§12.3).

12.1. The tentative. Forms of the tentative are easily made by adding daróo [or daroo] 'probably, I think' to the imperfect:

Yobu. --: Yobú-daroo (or Yobu daróo) 'I think [someone] will/does call'.
Ookíi. --: Ookíi daroo (or Ookii daróo) 'It must/would be big (I think)'.
Hón da. --: Hón daroo (or Hon daróo) "It is probably a book; it must be a book; I think/bet it is a book'.

The tentative perfect is made by adding daróo to the perfect -ta, -kátta, or dátta; the first syllable of daróo optionally drops:
Yobu. --: Yoda. --: Yoda (da)róo 'He probably called'.
Ookíi. --: Ookikatta. --: Ookikatta (da)róo 'It probably was a book'.

Tentative negatives are made as expected:
Yobu. --: Yobanai. --: Yobanai daróo. OR Yobanakaróo.

Ookíi. --: Ookiku nái. --: ookiku nái daróo. OR Ookiku nakaróo.
Hón da. --: Hón zya nái. --: Hón zya nái daróo. OR Hón zya nakaróo.

The forms -(a)nakaróo / nakaróo are often seen in writing, but in speech they are considered dialect; I have heard them used in Tokyo, apparently by people from surrounding areas, where they are common, see §12.3.

There is another variation permitted for the verbal tentative negative:

Yobu. (--: Yobanai.) --: Yobu mái 'He probably doesn't/won't call'.

For vowel verbs with this variant, there is an optional dropping of -ru:

Taberu. (--: Tabénai.) --: Tabe(ru) mái 'He probably doesn't/won't eat'.

Miru. (--: Mínai.) --: Mi(ru) mái 'He probably doesn't/won't see'.

The form for suru is su(ru) mái and for kúru it is ku(ru) mái, as expected, but the variants si-mái and ki-mái are more common in writing and there seem to be dialect forms such as ko-mái. This variant is more often written than spoken, so that we can include it with aróo, -karóo, etc. as the LITERARY TENTATIVE (§12.3). These forms with mái are also used as negative propositive ('let's not') but apparently in quotations only; see below (§12.2). They can be stylized: -masu mái (§22.1) = -masén deshoo, -(a)nái deshoo.

The tentative perfect negatives are made as expected:

Yobu. --: Yobanai. --: Yobanákatta. --: Yobanákatta (da)róo 'He probably didn't call'.

Ookíi. --: Ókiku nái. --: Ókiku nákatta. --: Ókiku nákatta (da)róo 'It probably wasn't big'.

Hón da. --: Hón zya nái. --: Hón zya nákatta. --: Hón zya nákatta (da)róo 'It probably wasn't a book'.

The normal tentative does not adnominalize, but the literary tentative often does, especially in writing and most especially before postadnominals; see §13.3.

§12.2. The propositive. Most verbals can be turned into a propositive meaning 'let's do it' or 'let me do it' or 'I think I'll do it' [cf. 'I think he'll do it' -(r)u daróo] by attaching the ending -(y)oo:

Yobu. --: Yoboo 'Let's call'.

Taberu. --: Tabeyóo 'Let's eat'.

[The ending attaches as -oo to consonant bases, as -yoo to vowel bases.]

Excluded are áru (aróo is the literary tentative), though iyoo 'let's stay' occurs, potentials (dekiyóo and -e-yóo are literary tentatives), and actions outside human control. But passives sometimes occur: Homarareyóo (= Homárarerátái) to site ore o sita 'He did that with the idea of getting praised for it'; Urayamasigarareyóo to site ... '... with the idea of exciting envy'; Ame ni hurareyóo/rarerareyóo 'Let's get rained out / wet by the rain'; Ii koto site sensái ni homarareyóo 'I want to do something nice to get praised by the teacher'. Aside from these restrictions, the only block to making propositives freely out of other transforms is semantic incongruity: Tabesugiyoo 'Let's eat too much' sounds a bit odd.

Since propositives can be made only from verbals, all negatives are excluded. To say 'let's not' you have to say either 'let's decide not to' (as in Ikanai kotó ni siyoo 'Let's not go') or 'let's give up the (idea of) doing)' (as in Iká no o yameyoo 'Let's not go'), depending on whether the proposition is a rejection of an earlier idea or not. In the latter case, rejecting an earlier idea, the object (the action) is often not expressed because it is understood from earlier discussion; Yameyoo 'Let's not'. In quotations only, you can use the -(r)u mái variant of the tentative (§12.1) to mean 'let's not, I think I won't' etc.: Iku mái to omótta 'I thought I wouldn't go' (=Ikanai yóo ni siyoo to omótta or Ikanái no o yameyoo to omótta). Ano koto iu mái to omótta kedo ... 'I didn't mean to say that but (I did)'. These forms sound a bit literary.

The propositive can be extended (§15) with ná(e), ʾka, ʾKa ne, ʾKa sira, yo, ze; but there is no *-oo sa/wa/zo/ʾka-no-sirenai. You can add zya nái ka (-oo zya nái ka 'Shan't we ...?') as if directly nominalizing the tentative (?*-ó da) and then making it negative + interrogative extension.

12.3. The literary tentative. The following verbs are frequently used in modern writings with the propositive ending but tentative meaning:

aróo = áru daróo 'probably is/has'
dekiyóo = dekíru daróo 'probably can'
ieyoo = ierú daróo 'probably can say' (potential §4.4)

Perhaps we can say that -(y)oo is freely written for -(r)ú daróo in the case of any verb for which the propositive meaning is excluded, such as áru, potentials (?so that sareyoo can either be [colloquial]'I'd like to have it done to me', passive, or [literary] 'I think it can be done', potential), and actions outside human control. That would account for radio weather reports that say Áme ga hurimasyóo (= Áme ga húru daróo)'It will probably rain', Kumorimasyóo 'It will probably be cloudy', etc. The honorific stylization of áru (--: gozaimásu §22.2) is regularly heard with the propositive ending so that the honorific form corresponding to áru daróo is gozaimasyóo or gozaimásu desyóo.

In place of ʾi daróo for the adjective, many dialects (including some that infiltrate the Tokyo area) use an abbreviation of -ku ároo --: -karóo. So we find ookikaróo = ókiku daróo, sukunakaróo = sukunái daróo, omokaróo = omói daróo; as well as the negatives mentioned earlier nakaróo = nái daroo, yobanakaróo = yobanái daróo; and other transforms that are adjectival like such as the desiderative yobitakaróo = yobitái daróo, and the facilitative tabe-yasukaróo = tabe-yasúi daróo, etc.

For a use of the literary tentative + the particle to, see §21.5. An abbreviation of that usage is involved in such sentences as Nihon-séihin wa yasukaróo warukaróo (to iu koto/wáke) de, hyooban no yóku nákatta monó de aru 'Japanese goods used to have a bad reputation as (likely to be) cheap and poor-quality'. For a use of the literary tentative + particles ga and ni, see §17.6. [We include the variant negative form -(r)u mái as a literary tentative.]

13. Adnominalizations. It is possible to take most perfect and imperfect Japanese sentences (including all those that would be generated by applying preceding sections of this work) and adnominalize them by simply putting them in front of the noun of a nominal sentence; the nominal sentence can then be converted to use as one of the build-up expansions of some further sentence (§2.1-2) or subjected to any of the transform possibilities open to a simple nominal sentence.

The verbal and adjectival sentences, along with all negatives and perfects (etc.), are adnominalized with no change in form:

Yobu. --: Yobu hitó da 'It is the man who calls OR whom someone calls'.
Ookíi. --: Ookíi monó da "It is a thing that is big = It is a big thing'.

Imperfect nominal sentences replace dá by either no or na depending on the kind of noun (to which the sentence is adnominalized): "na" -nouns we call ADJECTIVAL NOUNS [replacing Bloch's term "copular nouns"]. Adjectival nouns divide into a number of categories depending on privileges of occurrence with transforms and with derivational processes; see §____. The majority

of nouns are "na"-nouns, and these divide up into a number of categories on the basis of other criteria (as do "na"-nouns). Although adjectival nouns typically translate as English adjectives, so do some "na"-nouns and we even have antonym pairs that differ in their [Japanese] grammar:

Byooki da 'He is ill'. --: Byooki no hitó da 'It is a man who is ill = It is a sick man'.

Génki da. 'He is well'. --: Génki na hitó da 'It is a man who is healthy = It is a well man'.

[In a semi-literary style na (--: ni áru)--:} náru; to site íru (--: to áru) --: téru; see Ishigaki 52-2.]

It is sometimes convenient to think of the new nominal sentence as a transform of an expanded nuclear sentence i.e. the nuclear sentence plus its build-ups, one of which has been picked to make the nominal sentence, e.g.:

T (ni) P de A ga B o yobu 'A calls B in place P at time T'.
--: (1) T (ni) P de B o yobu A da 'It's the A who calls B in P at T'.
--: (2) T (ni) P de A ga yobu B da 'It's the B whom A calls in P at T'.
--: (3) T (ni) A ga B o yobu P da 'It's the P where A calls B at T'.
--: (4) P de A ga B o yobu T da 'It's the T when A calls B in P'.

[The difficulty with this view is that not all sentences with adnominalizations can be traced back to a sentence which contains the appropriate noun, e.g. the sentences containing postadnominals (§13.2).]

If there are indirect objects, any of them can be selected to make the nominal sentence, e.g.:

A ga C ni B o yonde agéru (§10) 'A calls B for C'.
--: (5) A ga B o yonde agéru C da 'It's the C for whom A calls B'.
A ga C ni B o yonde moráu (§10) 'A has C call B for him (as a favor)'.
--: A ga B o yonde moráu C da 'It's the C by whom A gets B called'.

And other expansions can similarly be selected:

A ga P kara kitá 'A came from P'.
--: (6) A ga kitá P da 'It's the P that A came from'.
A ga P e iku 'A goes to P'.
--: (7) A ga iku P da 'It's the P that A goes to'.
A ga B to hanasi-au 'A talks with B'.
--: (8) A ga hanasi-au B da 'It is the B that A talks with'.

There are some difficulties that arise in applying this adnominalization transform to expanded sentences. Build-ups with máde are apparently excluded: Sono zikan máde tuzuku/tuzukeru 'It continues / Continues it till that time' does not lead to the expected Tuzuku/tuzukeru (sono) zikan da; that sentence occurs, but it does not mean 'It is the time that it continues (we continue it) till', it means 'It is the time which continues (which we continue)' from an expanded sentence Sono zikan ga tuzuku 'That time continues' (or Sono zikan o tuzukeru 'We continue that time'). The sentence X ga mittú kara nátte iru 'X is composed of three (things)' will not produce *X ga nátte iru mittú da 'It is the three that X is composed of'; yet, alongside Senséi ga heitai ni nátta 'The teacher became a soldier' (§9.1.11) we find Senséi ga nátta heitai da 'It is the soldier that the teacher has become' [also Senséi kara nátta heitai da] as well as Heitai ni nátta senséi da 'It is the teacher that became a soldier'. Kinú kara/de kimono ga dekíru 'Clothes are made of silk' should produce Kimono ga(/no [§13.1]) dekíru kinú da 'It is the silk that clothes are made from', but that sentence strikes most listeners as strange.

A sentence with áru meaning 'is located', like one with iru 'stays', can have the expected adnominalizations:
A/X ga P ni iru/áru. --: (1) P ni iru/áru A/X da 'It is the A/X that is in P'. (2) A/X ga iru/áru P da 'It is the P where A/X are'.

But there are difficulties when the meaning is 'has':

A ga/ni B/X ga áru 'A has B/X.' --: (1) B/X ga áru A 'The A who has B/X'. (2) A ni áru B/X da 'It is the B/X that A has' not *(3) A ga áru B/X da except when this corresponds to (1) 'It is the B/X that has A'.
Examples: Otootó ga/ni kodomo ga áru 'The younger brother has a child' --: (1) Kodomo ga áru otootó da 'It is the younger brother who has a child'. [(2) Otootó ni áru kodomo da 'It is the child who belongs to the younger brother' strikes informants as rather strange, perhaps because it is replaced by the possessive no (13.4): Otooto no kodomo da 'It is the younger brother's child'. Yet Dorobo ni áru te-sitá da 'It is an underling of/to a thief' is accepted.] Otootó ga/ni náihu ga áru (nái) 'The younger brother has (lacks) a knife' --: (1) Náihu ga áru (nái) otootó da 'It is the younger brother who has (lacks) a knife'. (2) Otootó ni áru (nái) náihu da 'It is the knife that the younger brother has (lacks)'. We can perhaps phrase the rule like this: a sentence with áru (or nái) carries its direct subject with it; the indirect subject can only be marked by ni in an adnominalized sentence, though ga is optionally permitted (and statistically favored in speech) in sentences that are not adnominalized.

Awkwardness arises in selecting (as noun in the nominal sentence) expansions whose relationship to the rest of the sentence is incongruous without the particle. Some examples have already been noted (náda above). Some others:
A ga B to naka-ii 'A is on good terms with B' --: A ga naka-ii B da 'The B that A is on good terms with' (awkward, replaced by A ga naka no ii B da).
A ga B to onazi da 'A is the same as B' --: (1) B to onazi (no) A da 'It is the A that is the same as B' (preferred without no), (2) A ga onazi no B da 'It is the B that A is the same as' (?).

Perfects, negatives, and perfect negatives adnominalize regularly:

PERFECT

Yobu. --: Yonda. --: Yonda hitó da 'It's the man who(m someone) called'.
Tiisái. --: Tíisakatta. --: Tíisakatta kodomo da 'It's the child who used to be little'.
Byooki da. --: Byooki dátta. --: Byooki dátta hitó da 'It's a man who was sick'.
Génki da. --: Génki datta. --: Génki datta hitó da 'It's a man who was healthy'.

NEGATIVE

Yobu. --: Yobanai. --: Yobanai hitó da 'It's the man who(m someone) doesn't call'.
Tiisái. --: Tíisaku nái. --: Tíisaku nái kodomo da 'It's the child who isn't little'.
Byooki (Génki) da. --: Byooki (Génki) zya nái. --: Byooki (Génki) zya nái hitó da 'It's the man who is not ill (well)'.

PERFECT NEGATIVE

Yobu. --: Yobanai. --: Yobanákatta. --: Yobanákatta hitó da 'It's the man who(m someone) did not call'.
Tíisái. --: Tíisaku nái. --: Tíisaku nákatta. --: Tíisaku nákatta kodomo da 'It's the child who had not been little'.
Byooki (Génki) da. --: Byooki (G.) zya nái. --: Byooki (G.) zya nákatta. --: Byooki (G.) zya nákatta hitó da 'It is the person who had not been ill (well)'.

The new nominal sentence, with its adnominalized incorporation, can be made perfect, negative, etc., independently of the transforms that are incorporated in the adnominalized sentence; this can lead to the double (triple etc.) negatives mentioned in §8, e.g. Yobanákatta hitó zya nákatta 'It wasn't the man we had avoided calling (or neglected to call)'.

The tentative does not ordinarily adnominalize, but the literary tentative (§12.3) is common before postadnominals, especially in writing: aróo kotó ka aru mái kotó 'the matter of whether there probably is or not'; Sonna kotó ga aróo (nakaróo) hazu wa nái 'There is no reason for such things to happen (not to happen)'; Wasure dé mo siyoo monó nara syoosti sinai 'I won't forgive you if you should forget'. In the last example siyoo cannot be replaced by suru (the imperfect), so that -oo monó nara is best treated as an idiomatic transform with about the same meaning as -tára 'if one should'.

13.1. Subject emphasis reduction in adnominalized sentences. In §2.3 we found that any expansion build-up phrase can have its emphasis reduced by adding the particle wa (removing the possibility of specifying subject-object relationship because ga and o are incompatible with wa). Something similar can happen to the SUBJECT of an adnominalized sentence: the particle ga can be replaced by no. But there is no way to deemphasize the object of an adnominalized sentence. Note that sentences are normally adnominalized without prior emphasis-reduction, directly from A ga B o ... rather than from A wa B o ... or B wa A ga ... . So the reduction of ga to no is direct, not by way of a sentence with wa, and it preserves the subject specification intact. A phrase with wa is usually not a part of an adnominalized sentence, but rather part of the larger sentence within which the adnominalized sentence in embedded:

(1) A ga B o míta '(Who saw B?) A saw B' + B ga Tookyoo kara kitá '(Who came from Tokyo?) B came from Tokyo'
(2) A wa B o míta '(What did A do?) A saw B' + ...
--: A wa Tookyoo kara kitá B o míta '(Whom did A see?) A saw B who had come from Tokyo'.
(3) B wa A ga míta '(What happened to B?) A saw B' + ...
--: Tookyoo kara kitá B wa A ga míta '(Who saw B?) A saw B who had come from Tokyo'.

If you want to say 'B, whom A saw, came from Tokyo' you are likely to change ga to no and say A no míta B ga/wa Tookyo kara kitá (with ga/wa after B depending on what sort of implied question the larger sentence is answering). But 'A who saw B' can only be B o míta A ... .

You are more likely to deemphasize the subject of an adnominalized sentence when the sentence is short and the noun selected for the new nominal sentence (from which further sentences are derived) is the object of the underlying expanded sentence.

13.2. Postadnominals. There are a number of mostly noun-like words which occur typically or exclusively after an adnominalized sentence. Some of the words are also used quite widely as regular nouns [e.g. ba(w)ai 'situation', wáke 'reason']; some of the others occur occasionally without a preceding adnominalization, but in such instances they might be regarded as shortenings of sono ... (§13.5), e.g. (sono) máe 'before (that)'; the remaining ones are always preceded by an adnominalization (or a prenoun, §13.5), e.g. yóo 'appearance, seeming'. In the following lists we have included certain words which have also been treated as first-restrictives (§2.4), to wit: bákari, dake, dókoro, gúrai, hodo, kágiri, máde. The reason for separate treatment was that when the adnominalized sentence is a nominal sentence, dá does not change to no but instead either (except for mítai and nádo) changes to na [as it does also after postadnominal °no, mono/món, ígai, ízyoo] or drops (as we would expect with particle specification, §2.2); and except for hodo (and possibly kúrai = gúrai) they do not occur after prenouns. One of the items in the following list, kara, is elsewhere treated as a conjunctionalization (§17.1) because a nominal before it leaves dá intact (byooki dá kara 'because I am ill' -- contrast the synonymous byooki no tamé); the only reason for including it here is that it is often followed by the copula infinitive ni (with emphasis reduction ni wa), as other postadnominals often are. One item, máde, was treated both as first-restrictive and as particle specification (§2.2) as well as the present treatment. There are several words which were earlier treated as pseudo-restrictives (§2.5): góto, ígai, ígo, írai, ízan, ízyoo.

The new sentence made with a verbal, adjectival, or nominal sentence adnominalized to the postadnominal is itself a nominal of the regular type (dá --: no) with the exception of the following words, which behave like adjectival nouns (dá --: na): mítai, yóo. Although all can occur in the plain imperfect (...dá), for many postadnominals it is more common to find them in the infinitive (dá --: ní) or gerund (dá --: dé) or plain imperfect interrogative (...dá --: dá ka --: °ka, §15.6); also common is direct infinitivization, i.e. dropping ní (cf. direct nominalization §14.6). For details, check each of the following items in the Grammatical Lexicon.

In the list that follows, each postadnominal (including doubtful cases preceded by question-mark) is given a number; the second column contains a symbol for those which have other uses (or treatments): N freely used as nouns (if less freely, parenthesized) in the same or similar meaning, R also treated as first-restrictive, P also treated as pseudo-restrictive, S also treated as specification, C also treated as conjunctionalization. All postadnominals can occur after imperfect [-(r)u, -no] and perfect [-ta] of verbal (V), adjectival (A), and nominal (N) sentences, except when restrictions are shown in column three. Column four lists the postadnominals alphabetically, with adjectival postadnominals indicated by postposed "na", and provides a tag translation. Preposed "na" means all cases of dá --: na. For more details on use and meaning, see Grammatical Lexicon.

LIST OF POSTADNOMINALS

1.	N	V-ta	ageku '(as) the final outcome (upshot) of doing, (as) a crowning blow (after)', etc.
2.	(N)		aida 'while, during the time (interval) that'
3.	N	-(r)u	amari 'from an excess of'
4.	N		anbái 'condition, state; manner, way'
5.	?N	?-(r)u	arisama 'condition, situation'

6.	N P			átari 'neighborhood, vicinity; or the like, of the sort; (= góro) about (a time)'
7.	N	V-ta		áto (de) 'after (doing)'
8.	N			ba(w)ai 'situation'
9.	R		(na)	bákari 'only, just' [Cf. -te bákari, §____]
10.		V-(r)u		beki 'ought to' [Morphophonemic note: suru beki --: su beki]
11.	(N)			bun 'situation; so long as (dé/ní wa), at that rate' etc.
12.	R		(na)	dake 'only, just; as much as' (-ta dake no kotó wa áru 'it is well worth having done', §14.1.1; cf. §11)
13.	R		(na)	dókoro 'the furthest thing from being/doing'
? 14.	?N			doosi 'fellow ...'
15.	P	V-(r)u		góto (ni) 'each time that, whenever'
16.	N			guai 'situation, condition'
17.	R		(na)	gúrai/kúrai 'extent; approximately, as much as to ..., virtually' [for shape, see Lexicon]
18.	?N	?-(r)u		hakobi 'stage, progress; step'
19.		?-(r)u		hame 'plight, predicament'
20.	N			hanasí 'tale, happening, situation'
21.				hazu 'likelihood, expectation'
22.		?N-no		hen 'locality, neighborhood'
23.		?N-no		hidari 'the left of'
24.	(N)			hitó 'person' [for accent peculiarities, see §____]
25.	R	?	(na)	hodo 'extent, degree'
26.	N			hoka (ni) 'in addition to; except for'
27.				hóo 'alternative of, ... (rather than); [N no] direction, towards'
28.				muri (o suru) '(makes) a pretense of' [VERBAL NOUN, §14.3]
29.	P N	?-(r)u	(na)	ígai 'except for, outside of'
30.	P ?N	?-ta		ígo 'after'
31.	N	?V-(r)u		ippoo '(doing) nothing but, steadily'
32.	P ?N	?		írai 'since' [Cf. -te írai, §9.2.3]
? 33.	P N			izen 'before'
34.	P N		(na)	izyoo 'since, now that, so long as etc.'
35.	N	R	(na)	kágiri (ni) 'as long as'
36.	N			kangé 'the thought, intention, reason'
37.	C			kara 'because' [Cf. -té kara §9.2.3]
38.				katá/káta 'honored person'
39.	N	V-(r)u		kati (ga áru) 'is worth doing'
40.	N			kawari 'instead of (doing, etc.)'
41.	N			ki (= tumori) 'intention'
42.	R	-ta		qkiri 'only, just' (- dake/b'ákari)
43.				kiwa 'time when'
44.				kóro 'the approximate time that' (cf. góro, §2.6)
45.				kotó 'fact, experience, statement' (see §14.1, §15.13)
46.	(N)			kusé ni 'as if, like'
47.	N			ma 'time (while)'
48.	R S		(na)	máde 'even; until the point where'
49.	?N	?-(r)u		magiwa (ni) 'just at the instant/moment when'
50.				mamá 'untouched, just as it is; as, according to; since'

51.	NP	V-(r)u		máe (ni) 'before doing'
52.	N	?N-no		mawari 'around'
53.				mé 'situation, fix, plight'
54.	N	?N-no		migi 'the right of'
55.	R			mítai (na) 'like'
56.	(N)			mono$_1$ 'the ones (things/persons) which'
57.			(na)	mono$_2$, món 'the regular (to-be-expected, natural) thing that' (for món ka, see §15.6; for -yo mono nara, see §13.3)
58.				moyoo 'the appearance, likelihood'
59.	R			mádo/nánka 'and the like'
60.	N	?N-no		náka 'middle; ?midst'
61	N	V-(r)u		neuti (ga áru) 'is worth doing'
62.			(na)	no 'the one which' etc. (§14.2, §15.13)
? 63.	N			noti 'after'
64.	N			orí 'time, occasion, opportunity'
65.	?N			renzyuu 'group, set, crowd'
66.		?N-no		séi (ka/de/ni) 'owing to'
67.		?N-no		setu 'time, occasion'
68.	N			sidai 'situation, matter; reason' (cf. -i-sídai, §9.1.2)
69.	N			símatu 'circumstances, situation'
70.	N	?N-no		sitá 'below, under' [for accent peculiarities, see §___]
71.				sóo da: see §28 [separately treated because of N da sóo da]
72.				tamé 'for; owing to / because of'
73.	(N)	?-(r)u		ta(n)bí 'every time that'
74.	?N			te-ai 'fellow; (= renzyuu) set, crowd'
75.	(N)			ten 'point, respect, regard, viewpoint'
76.	N			toki 'time when'
77.	N			toko(ró) (de/ni/o/ga) 'place; situation; just as' [for accent, see §___]
78.		V-(r)u/-ta		tóori 'just as, like'
79.		-(r)u		totan (ni) '(at) the instant/moment when'
80.	(N)	-ta		tooza 'for a while (the time being) after'
81.	N			tumori 'intention; hope'
82.	N			tyoosi 'condition, circumstance; way, manner'
83.	N			ué 'on top of; in addition to ' [for accent, see §___]
84.	N	?N-no		usiro 'behind'
85.	(N)			uti 'while; among' [for accent, see §___]
86.	N			wáke 'reason; circumstance, case; meaning'
87.		?N-no		wari (ni) 'in proportion to, considering that, for'
88.	(N)			yátu 'damn one (thing/person)'
89.				yóo (na) 'like'
90.				yoosu 'situation, circumstance; appearance, likelihood'
91.	(N)			yué 'reason'
92.	N			zihun 'time (when)'

13.3. Tentative adnominals. In written Japanese you often see an adnominalized tentative, especially before a postnominal:

Aréo kotó ka aru mái kotó '(the facts) about whether it will probably exist or not'.

Wasure dé mo siyoo monó nara syooti sinai 'I won't forgive you if you should forget'.

Sonna kotó ga aréo hazu wa nái 'There's no reason (likelihood) that such a thing should happen'.

Ukkári té o hanaséo monó nara, Senzin no Tanisoko e otikonde simau 'If he should let his hand go for a careless moment, he would end up plunging down into the Valley of a Thousand Blades'.

In speech, such forms are not heard; instead, you simply use the imperfect or, if you want to stress the tentative nature of the matter, you can use -(r)u hazu no 'which is likely to': Áru hazu no kotó 'Things which are likely to happen'.

13.4. Possessive nominals. We originally set up three nuclear sentence types: verbal, adjectival, and nominal. But adnominalization forces us to divide the nominal into three types:

Nominal proper	Gakusei no hazu da 'It ought to be the teacher'.
	Byooki no hazu da 'He ought to be sick'.
adjectival nominal	Bénki na hazu da 'He ought to be well'.
possessive nominal	Gakusei nó no hazu da 'It ought to be the student's'.

Now ordinarily when Gakusei nó da 'It is the student's' is adnominalized, the copula dá drops: Gakusei no itóko 'the student's cousin', identical in form with 'the cousin who is a student' from Gakusei da 'It's a student'. So we must set up not only this special class of possessive nominal (NOUN + no + copula), but also a special small class of postadnominals before which the imperfect copula changes to no instead of dropping as would be expected: hazu, yóo, tumori, hoka, ... This means that we can make a distinction between Gakusei no hazu/yóo da (from Gakusei da) and Gakusei nó no hazu/yóo da (from Gakusei nó da) that is not paralleled when the sentences are adnominalized before other nouns, which instead let the two fall together in ambiguity: Gakusei no itóo da (from either Gakusei da or Gakusei nó da). Other examples: Gakusei nó no tumori da 'I meant it for the student (to be the student's)', Gakusei no tumori da 'I take it to be the student'.

13.5. Restricted nominals; pronouns. A number of nominals have restrictions of occurrence. (See also 13.7.) These comprise groups as shown below:

(1) + dá, + ní (infinitive of dá); adnominal (+ ZERO):
kouna 'like this', souna 'like that', auna 'like that', dóuna 'like what' [to be distinguished from koo na etc. adnominalized from koo dá 'it is this way' etc.]; iróuna 'various', onazi 'same'.

(2) Only adnominal (+ ZERO); these are called PRENOUNS:
(2a) Konо 'this', sonо 'that', anо 'that', dónо 'what' [to be distinguished from kore no etc. as either possessive nominals 'of this one' etc. or adnominals from kore da etc. 'it is this']; hon-no 'just'.
(2b) koo-iu 'this sort of', soo-iu 'that sort of', aa-iu 'that sort of', dóo-iu 'what sort of'.
(2c) óoki-na 'large', tíisa-na 'small', okáši-na 'funny'.
(2d) tái-sita 'important', tyóoto-sita 'fairly nice (decent, respectable)', tonda 'awful', tátta 'only, just'.

(2e) áru 'a certain', arayuru 'all sorts of', iwayuru 'so-called'.
(2f) wá-ga 'our'.

(3) Only adverbial + to, adnominal + -taru = to sita: dodoo 'imposing', yuuyuu 'deliberate', ...

There are also a few PSEUDO-PRENOUNS: Chinese prefixes like gín- 'new', kyúu- 'old', dái- '-th', mán- 'fully', zyún- 'pure' [cf. zyuu= 'semi-, quasi-'], which are given a separate accent to show they modify a longer compound; but these are best treated as special cases of derivation (Pt III), along with pseudo-postnouns like =tai 'versus', =kan 'additionally', etc.

13.6. Quantity nominals. Quantity words include takusán 'lots' [also occasionally treated as adjectival nominal: takusán na ... rather than takusán no ...; similar are zyuubún, sunnarí, sokkúri, kínari, hontoo, wázuka, hitori-mae, sizen, betu, kongoo-dóori, símai 'kind', cf. Mo 149], sukósi and tyótto 'a little', ikura 'how much', and numbers. Numbers consist of NUMERAL + COUNTER or mán-/iku- -- COUNTER (for the derivation, see Pt III) e.g. roku-nin '6 people'; the general counter -tu 'number of things; number of years of age' (iku-tu 'how many; how old') has the shape zero from 10 up. And there are many peculiarities in the derivation of numbers for certain categories (see Pt III). Quantity nominals can be adnominalized to QUANTIFIABLE nouns: they are used to count COUNT NOUNS and to measure MEASURE NOUNS. Count nouns are divided into CLASSIFIED (those which take a specific classifier) and UNCLASSIFIED (those which take the general counter -tu/ø). Comprehensive lists of counters and count-noun classes will be found at the back of Kindaiti's Meikai kokugo ziten and Hirayama's Zenkoku akusento ziten. Quantity nominals adnominalize regularly: Takusán da 'It's lots' --: Takusán no hón (or Hón no takusán) 'lots of books'. While the gerund and infinitive occur freely (takusán de, takusán ni [sára]), quantity nominals also show DIRECT ADVERBIALIZATION, i.e. are simply used as particle-unspecified expansions (§2.1). There seems to be some slight difference of meaning between the directly adverbialized takusán, wázuka, and kínari (etc?) and the same words with ni; apparently the forms with the copula infinitive are to be regarded as coming from the adjectival nouns that these three words are, at the same time that they are (by class-overlap) regular nouns.

13.7. Adverbs. Since, in theory at least, any noun can occur as a direct adverbial (= particle-unspecified expansion), there is some question whether a category of "adverb" is necessary. But we can distinguish, as adverbs, those nominals which do not generate subjects (by specification with ga) and direct objects (by specification with o): tokidoki 'sometimes' (there is no *tokidoki ga/o except in hypostatic discourse ["Tokidoki" ga ii to omou 'I think "sometimes" might be all right']), sunnarí 'overly' (*sunnarí ga/o), sibáraku 'a while' (*sibáraku ga/o), yátto 'finally, after much trouble' (*yátto ga/o) [= yag to, §21.7], ?tootoo 'at last' (?*tootoo ga/o), ... [Note that all these adverbs occur freely as nominal sentences with ...dá.]

And we find the following kinds of restricted cases:

(1) Words which usually occur as direct adverbials and rarely, if ever, occur as nuclear nominal sentences or as adnominals: (+ negative) késaita '(not) ever, never'; (+ tentative) osóraku 'probably', sázo 'surely', tábun 'probably',

[<gerund of keq-súru, §9.2.1]

kitto 'undoubtedly' (=kiq to, §21.7); (+ tentative negative) mázaka 'surely not'; (often + conditional) mósi 'if'; (+ request) dózo 'please' (=dó zo, §15.5); taihen 'very' (if we treat it is as unconnected with the adjectival noun taihen 'terrible'), góku 'extremely', totemo 'quite, indeed', tyoodo 'just', zutto directly, straight; all the way, all the time' (= zuq to, §21.7), taisee 'very', zúibun 'very', sémete [< VF gerund] 'at least/Most', ...

(2) Words which occur as direct adverbials, and also as adnominals (dá --: no) but lack the nominal sentence (*...dá) from which the adnominal should be derived: nakanaka 'thoroughly', nakanaka no 'thorough-going, exhaustive'; kázete 'previously', kázete no 'previous'; táttte 'insistently', táttte no 'insistent'; zyúrai 'hitherto', zyúrai no 'former, existing'.

(3) Adjectival nouns which occur only in the infinitive with ní: tóku ni 'especially', súde ni 'already', ói ni 'greatly', ...

(4) Like the preceding but rarely also adnominal with ... no, though lacking the nominal sentence (*...dá) from which both the infinitive and the adnominal should be derived: tama ni 'occasionally, rarely', tama no (yasumí/ ... -yó-bi) 'an occasional (holiday/...-day)'; ?etc.

(5) Adjectival nouns which occur only in the adnominal (... na) and the infinitive (... ní), but lack the nuclear sentence (*...dá) from which they should be derived: sétu na 'earnest', sétu ni 'earnestly'; ?etc.

(6) Pseudo-adjectival nouns: Words which adverbialize directly (or occasionally with ní) and quite freely occur as a nuclear sentence (...dá) but are rare as adnominals (koo na --: konna or koo iu): koo 'thus', soo 'so', aa 'so', dó 'how'; ?etc. [Zettai na/no seems to be rare, though zettai ní 'absolutely' is common, ? as is zettai dá.]

There are probably some more minor classes of restriction to be added; e.g. (2a) Words which occur as direct adverbial, in the infinitive, and as adnominal but lack the nuclear sentence: súgu (ni) 'directly', koko kara súgu no tokoro 'a place direct from (= near to) here'.

13.8. Precopular nouns. We have divided nouns into regular nouns (which adnominalize dá --: no) and adjectival nouns (which adnominalize dá --: na), noting numerous subtypes according to privileges of occurrence. Among regular nouns we find some like byoodoo 'equality' that behave as expected ingenerating subjects and objects (i.e. take the particles ga and o) but also adverbialize with the infinitive ní: byoodoo ni 'equally' (contrast byoodoo ni [oyobu] '[extends] to equality' with the indirect-object particle ni). On closer examination we find that the nuclear sentence Byoodoo da has two meanings: 'It is equality' and 'It is (They are) equal', as does, of course, its adnominalized form byoodoo no ... . We can say that such nouns, by class cleavage, are both regular nouns and at the same time members of another class that we will call PRECOPULAR NOUNS; they are similar in type to adjectival nouns, but adnominalize dá --: no instead of dá --: na.

Other precopular nouns, by class cleavage again, are also adjectival nouns (i.e. sometimes adnominalize dá --: no, sometimes dá --: na) rather than also regular nouns; in modern writing there seems to be some wavering between treating these (and a number of other) nouns as adjectival or precopular.

Examples are: iroiro 'various' (iroiro [ni], iroiro na/no, iroiro da), sootoo 'reasonable, fair, considerable' (sootoo [ni], sootoo na/no, sootoo da); takusán 'much', kánari 'fair, passable', wázuka 'few, scarty; -- all treated earlier as adverbs (since they do not generate subjects/objects with ga/o). A trouble-some example is sizen which means both 'nature' (as a regular noun so that sizen no means 'of nature') and 'natural, spontaneous' as ambivalently adjectival/precopular noun (sizen na/no); toozen 'natural, reasonable' does not exhibit the regular noun behavior, only the ambivalent adjectival precopular: toozen na/no. (In colloquial usage, both sizen and toozen can be directly adverbialized without ni, though it is common to use ni also. Similar is tyokusetu 'direct': Tyokusetu na/no, tyokusetu [ni].)

By meaning alone, we might assume that byooki is a precopular noun as well as a regular noun (Byooki da 'It's an illness' or 'He is ill'), but we do not find *byooki ni 'in a sick manner' (= byooki no yóo ni) parallel to génki ni 'in a lively/healthy manner' and byoodoo ni 'equally'. So we must reinterpret the semantics of our translation 'He is ill' to 'As for him, it is illness'; the "ambiguity" is the usual residual subject-vagueness of Japanese.

/13.13.3. Pseudo-adnominals./ Ishigaki 58 speaks of 'pseudo-adnominals". There are a number of idioms in Japanese that involve a noun derived with a prefix o- 'big' or ko- 'little' in which the reference of the "greatness" or "smallness" is to the action of the verb rather than specifically to the noun: ko-mimi ni hasámu 'hears casually', ko-te kazasu 'shades one's eyes with one's hand', oo-mata o hiraite/hirogete 'taking big strides', ko-kubi o kasigéru 'cocks one's head (slightly)". The peculiarities of these idioms seem best handled as derivation.

/14. Nominalizations./ There are two postadnominals which serve simply to nominalize a sentence: kotó and 'no. There are also a few special adnominalizations involving verbal nouns.

/14.1. Kotó./ Any sentence can be adnominalized to kotó with meanings like 'the act or experience of'; for adnominalizations coming from nominal sentences with nouns other than adjectival or precopular, the meaning is '(the facts) about, (events) concerning". The latter meaning can be achieved for other sentences (verbal etc.) by first quoting them (§21): Okyaku-san ga mîeta to iu kotó da 'It's about the guests having arrived'. Ko-zûtumi ga tyótto omoi to iu kotó da 'It's about the parcel being a bit (too) heavy'. Kónban damé da to iu kotó da 'It's about tonight being no good'. * For sentence-final kotó, see §15.13. Some special uses of other sentences (not regular adnominals) adnominalized to kotó are given in the following sections.

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* A common use for the quoted sentences, including quoted adjectivals (-i to iu kotó da) and nominals (dá to iu kotó da), is as the direct object (dá --: o) or subject (dá --: ga) of a perception: Kore da (/ Omoi / Móo kitá) to iu kotó o/wa siranákatta 'I didn't know (that) it was this (/ it was heavy / it had already come)'. Háyakûta to iukotó ga wakáru 'I realized that it was early'. Móo kitá daróo to iu kotó o/wa kikanákatta 'I hadn't heard that it was probably already here'. Another use as object is nominal sentence (dá--: no) kotó o iu 'it refers to, it means'.

There are a number of uses with infinitivization (§9.1.11 dá --: ní) producing a kind of idiom like mazúi kotó ni 'inconveniently enough, unfortunately, awkward as it happened to be'. (For kotó ni náru/suru, see §14.1.2.) Note also sinai kotó ni wa 'unless one does' (= sinákereba §9.3, sinai to §17.2) or 'so long as one does not' (= sinai kágiri §13.2, sinai utí §13.2). And, with dropping of copula infinitive (cf. §9.1.12), we get nagái koto 'for a long time' and hayái koto 'promptly' (listed by some dictionaries as lexical adverbs). A rather special case of dropping the copula infinitive is this: A (wa) motíron no kotó, B mo ... 'A, to be sure, and B as well ...' With the gerund (dá --: dé), reference is sometimes to CAUSE 'with ... as the matter': Ip-pun no kotó de kisyá ni nori-okuréru 'misses the train by a matter of one minute'.

In its nuclear form ... kotó da can be used as advice 'the thing to do is' as in Soo határaku kotó da 'Well, the thing to do is work at it' or 'I guess what we/you better do is work'; from this comes the usage as an indirect command (cf. §16.2) as in Éda o oránai kotó da 'Please don't break the branches' and Tabako o nománai kotó da 'No smoking, please'. With an expression of time, TIME no kotó da 'it's a matter of TIME' means 'it happened/will happen at a time': Zyuu-nen máe no kotó da 'It happened ten years ago', Asátte no kotó da 'It will take place day after tomorrow'. This usage leads quite naturally into that of the following section (§14.1.2).

There is an interesting usage SENTENCE kotó wa SENTENCE ga 'As for doing/being ... it is true that it does/is, but' (§17.5), with the sentence repeated more commonly in its nuclear form without build-ups: Ikitai kotó wa ikitái ga 'I want to go all right but ...', Tegami o káku kotó wa káku ga 'I'll write the letter all right but ...'. The sentence repeat can be made perfect Ikitai kotó wa ikitákatta ga 'I wanted to go all right but ...', but the adnominal version in front of kotó must be imperfect, and neither version apparently can be negative: *Sinai kotó wa sinái ga (*Ikitaku nái kotó wa ikitaku nái ga), *Sinai kotó wa surú ga (*Ikitaku nái kotó wa ikitái ga), (?) *Suru kotó wa sinái ga (*Ikitai kotó wa ikitaku nái ga).

The word kotó has a number of uses as a relatively free noun 'matter, affair, thing; circumstances, case; incident, event; task, duty, work'. For ... ni koto-kaite, see §14.6.3; for ... tó no kotó da, see §21.

/14.1.1. Kotó ga áru/nái./ The expressions (adnominalized sentence +) kotó ga áru 'it sometimes happens that' ('there exists the experience that') and kotó ga nái 'it never happens that' ('there lacks the experience that') form some complex translation problems as shown below:

(1a) yobu kotó ga áru 'we sometimes (DO) call'
yobu kotó ga nái 'we never (DO) call'

hayái kotó ga áru 'sometimes it is (IS) early'
hayái kotó ga nái 'it is never (NEVER) early'

génki na kotó ga áru 'he is sometimes healthy'
génki na kotó ga nái 'he is never healthy'

(1b) yobu kotó ga átta 'we sometimes called (DID call), used to call'
yobu kotó ga nákatta 'we never (DID) call, didn't used to call'

hayái kotó ga átta 'sometimes it was (used to be) early'
hayái kotó ga nákatta 'it was never (it never used to be) early'

génki na kotó ga átta 'sometimes he was (used to be) healthy'
génki na kotó ga nákatta 'he was never (he never used to be) healthy'

(1c) yonda kotó ga áru 'we have (once/ever) called'
yonda kotó ga nái 'we have never called'

háyakatta kotó ga áru 'it has (once/ever) been early'
háyakatta kotó ga nái 'it has never been early'

génki dátta kotó ga áru 'he has (once/ever) been healthy'
génki dátta kotó ga nái 'he has never been healthy'

(1d) yonda kotó ga átta 'we had (once/ever) called'
yonda kotó ga nákatta 'we had never called'

hayákatta kotó ga átta 'it had (once/ever) been early'
hayákatta kotó ga nákatta 'it had never been early'

génki dátta kotó ga átta 'he had (once/ever) been healthy'
génki dátta kotó ga nákatta 'he had never been healthy'

(2a) yobanai kotó ga áru 'we sometimes don't call'
yobanai kotó ga nái 'it never happens that we don't call = we always (unfailingly) call'
háyaku nái kotó ga áru 'it sometimes fails to be early'
háyaku nái kotó ga nái 'it never fails to be early'

génki zya nái kotó ga áru 'he is sometimes not healthy'
génki zya nái kotó ga nái 'he is never unhealthy; he never fails to be healthy'

(2b) yobanai kotó ga átta 'we sometimes didn't call, we used to fail to call'
yobanai kotó ga nákatta 'we never used to fail to call'

háyaku nái kotó ga átta 'it used to fail to be early, it sometimes failed to be early'
háyaku nái kotó ga nákatta 'it never used to fail to be early'

génki zya nái kotó ga átta 'he used to be not healthy, he was sometimes not healthy'
génki zya nái kotó ga nákatta 'he never used to fail to be healthy'

(2c) yobanákatta kotó ga áru 'we have (once/ever) failed to call'
yobanákatta kotó ga nái 'we have never failed to call'

háyaku nákatta kotó ga áru 'it has (once/ever) failed to be early'
háyaku nákatta kotó ga nái 'it has never failed to be early'

génki zya nákatta kotó ga áru 'he has (once/ever) failed to be healthy'
génki zya nákatta kotó ga nái 'he has never failed to be healthy'

(2d) yobanákatta kotó ga átta 'we had (once/ever) failed to call'
yobanákatta kotó ga nákatta 'we had never failed to call'

háyaku nákatta kotó ga átta 'he had (once/ever) failed to be healthy'
háyaku nákatta kotó ga nákatta 'it had never failed to be early'

génki zya nákatta kotó ga átta 'he had (once/ever) failed to be healthy'
génki zya nákatta kotó ga nákatta 'he had never failed to be healthy'

Any of the resulting sentences can be turned into tentatives ('probably ...') or any of the other sentences that áru and nái will produce, including ari-sugiru (nasa-sugiru), ari-nágara (nái nagara), etc. The emphasis on kotó can be reinforced (kotó mo áru etc.) or reduced (kotó wa áru etc.), though nuclear emphasis reinforcement or reduction (kotó ga ári wa/mo/sae suru, kotó ga sae náku wa/mo/sae áru) is rare. It is even possible to make a second kotó-nominalization on top of one kotó-nominalization: [N shows negation pattern]

\- - - Yobu kotó ga áru kotó mo áru 'It also happens that we sometimes call'.
\- N - Yobu kotó ga nái kotó mo áru 'It also happens that we never call'.
\- - N Yobu kotó ga áru kotó mo nái 'It also never happens that we sometimes call'.
\- N N Yobu kotó ga nái kotó mo nái 'It also never happens that we fail (ever) to call'.
N - - Yobanai kotó ga áru kotó mo áru 'It also happens that we sometimes fail to call'.
N - N Yobanai kotó ga áru kotó mo nái 'It also never happens that we sometimes don't call (sometimes fail to call)'.
N N - Yobanai kotó ga nái kotó mo áru 'It also happens that we never fail to call'
N N N Yobanai kotó ga nái kotó mo nái 'It also never happens that we unfailingly call' = 'we also sometimes fail (forget) to call'.

These eight sentence can have any or all of the three elements in the perfect, so that there are 8x3 = 24 possible sentences involving the perfect. In conversation such involved sentences, often with multiple negatives, turn up more frequently than one might expect. [A first-aid measure to help disentangle the syntax: Change the first koto into toki 'time': ...toki ga aru koto mo aru 'there also happen to be times when ...'.]

Free translations sometimes stray from what the literal interpretation might produce, especially in certain contexts like ikura ... site mo, ... si-sugiru koto wa nai 'however much you ...) you can't ... too much' or 'it is impossible to (you will never) over-do'.

The subject particle ga is often dropped in rapid speech: suru koto nai (1) 'it never happens that one does it'; another meaning (= suru hituyoo 'the necessity to do', related to the meaning 'it's a matter of doing') occurs ONLY without ga: suru koto nai 'there is no necessity to do; it is not necessary to do'. Note also the usage -ta dake no koto wa aru 'it is well worth having done' (from perfect verbal adnominalized to dake da, §13.2 No. 12.

14.1.2. Koto ni naru/suru. In §9.1.11 we found that adjectivals and nominals could enter into expressions of infinitive + naru 'it [illegible] gets to be' and suru 'makes it into'. The imperfect and perfect nominalizations with koto also enter into these expressions, but for nominalizations from adjectivals and other nominals the simpler forms of §9.1.11 [illegible] replace the expected forms: *Ookii koto ni naru --: ookiku naru 'It gets (to be) big'. *Genki na koto ni suru --: Genki ni suru 'It makes one healthy'.

And for verbals, there are two kinds of meanings:
(1) [imperfect only] 'decides to do' or 'arranges to do' (koto ni suru) and 'it is decided (arranged) for one to do' (koto ni naru). The latter expression is often used in its gerund form + iru (§9.2.4) ... koto ni natte iru 'it is (in the state of having been) arranged that ...', and this makes a good translation for many sentences that contain the English 'supposed to' where the implication is less 'ought, should, must' (= sinakereba naranai, sinakute wa ikenai, or sita hoo ga ii) or 'likely, expected to' (= suru hazu da) than 'according to arrangements (one will)': Sotugyoo sitara kara kaisya ni hairu koto ni natte iru 'I'm supposed to go to work for the company after I graduate'.*

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*There is a corresponding form for koto ni suru: suru/sinai koto ni site iru 'makes it a rule to / not to'.

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(2) for koto ni naru only, with imperfect or perfect, 'will (PERFECT would) be doing / have done':
-(r)u koto ni naru 'will be doing, will have been doing': Gogatu de han-tosi yomu koto ni naru 'I will have read it for half a year by May'.
-ta koto ni naru 'will have done': Mata yomeba ni-do yonda koto ni naru 'I will have read it two times if I read it again'.
-te iru koto ni naru 'will be / have been doing': Gogatu de han-tosi yonde iru koto ni naru daroo 'I will probably have been reading it for half a year by May'.
-te ita koto ni naru 'will be /have been doing': Gogatu de han-tosi yonde ita koto ni naru 'I will have been reading it for half a year by May'.

/14.1.3. Kotó ga dekíru./ One way to say 'Can (do)' is verbal sentence -(r)u kotó ga dekíru. If the verbal sentence is suru 'does', there is optional dropping of suru kotó(ga): benkyoo (suru kotó) (ga) dekíru 'can study' (cf. §9.1.12, §14.3, §___), yásuku (suru kotó ga) dekíru 'can make it cheaper' (cf. §_____).* The resulting sentence can be freely turned into any sentence that dekíru is capable of making; this excludes desideratives (*Iku kotó ga dekitái = Iku kotó ga dékitara íi 'I wish I could go'), passives (even as honorific the expected *dekiraréru --: odeki ni náru), favors, and propositives, since "ability" is considered outside human control. (Note that infinitive + náru 'gets to be' can occur with potentials.) It is possible, however, to find nuclear emphasis reinforcement or reduction (... kotó ga dekí wa/mo/sae suru) --(?)but not on the adnominalized sentence (*si wa/mo/sae suru kotó ga dekíru) nor on both (*sí wa/mo/sae suru kotó ga dekí wa/mo/sae suru).

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*This includes honorific infinitive + suru in object-exalting transforms (§6.3): O-negai (suru kotó ga) dekimásu ka 'Can I ask it of you?'

Though the resulting sentence can be made negative (suru kotó ga dekínai 'can not do it') it is not clear whether the potential expression can be built on a negative (? sinai kotó ... dekíru) or whether the meaning this would produce is exclusively handled with paraphrases such as sinái de súmu 'gets along without doing' as in Kakánai de sumimasén ka 'Does one have to write? Can't you/we get along without writing?'

For the special problems of verbal nouns, see §14.3.

Another way to say the same thing as kotó ga dekíru (and more common in colloquial speech) is to turn the sentence into a full or shortened passive-potential (§4.2, §4.4), subject to the same constraints.

/14.1.4. Verbal + kotó + adjectival or adjective-nominal./ Any verbal imperfect nominalization with kotó (or [with implied comparison?] 'no, §14.2) can be made the subject of an adjectival or adjective-nominal sentence with the meaning 'it is ... to do': Oyógu kotó ga yasasii 'It is easy to swim' (cf. Oyogi-yasúi = Oyógu kotó ga si-yasúi 'It is an easy swim', §9.1.8). Sibai o míru kotó ga omosiróí 'It is fun to see a play'. Inaka de yasúmu kotó ga tanosíi 'It is pleasant to have a vacation in the country'. Sensoo ga okoránai kotó ga nozomasii 'It is to be hoped that we will have no war'. Ongaku o kiku kotó ga suki da 'I like to listen to music'. Sonna hitó ni áu kotó ga kirai da 'I hate to meet people of that sort'.

/14.2. 'No (da)./ Any sentence can be adnominalized to the noun 'no meaning: (1) 'the act of' (similar to kotó in meaning, but often implying comparison, and less commonly used for kotó in the sentences of §14.1.3-4);
(2) 'the one which' (somewhat similar to some of the uses of monó 'thing, person', but often implying comparison);
(3) 'the fact that', 'a matter of', etc.

Verbal and adjectival sentences adnominalize as expected (by simply putting them in front); all nominal sentences adnominalize by changing dá to ná. In other words, dá --: ná always before the noun 'no (as before dake, bákari, gúrai, hodo, máde, dókoro, kágiri, món -- cf. §13.2), but before other nouns only when it is preceded by an adjectival noun. Speakers commonly shorten the noun 'no to 'n before da. [The particle showing deemphasized subject in an adnominalized sentence and the one showing possession are also often shortened to n: Boku n káita tegami da 'It is the letter I wrote'. Boku n da 'It is mine'. Boku n ziténsya da 'It is my bicycle'.]

Verbal	Yobu.	--:	Yobú n(o) da.
Adjectival	Ookíi.	--:	Ookíi n(o) da.
Nominal	Senséi da.	--:	Senséi na n(o) da.
	Byooki da.	--:	Byooki ná n(o) da.
Adjectival-nominal	Génki da.	--:	Génki na n(o) da.
Possessive (§13.4)	Senséi no da.	--:	Senséi no na n(o) da.

These nominalizations are used as full nominal sentences, sometimes to emphasize the factual nature of expositions ('The fact is ...', 'It happens that...', '... you see') and sometimes, especially with nominal sentences, just to "pad" a sentence to give it extra indirectness or politeness; this is especially common when some reservations may be mentioned (Kóre wa koo iú n da ga ... 'This is what he says, but ...') or implied or expected, as with the desiderative: Ikitái n desu (ga ...) 'I want to go, you see, (but ... dare I? may I? can I?)'. This kind of sentence is also used to emphasize directions (e.g. in recipes) and in ordering children to do things: Koo surú n da 'Do it like this', Soo sinái n da 'Don't do it like that'. Also, in summing up decisions: Tó-ni-kaku koo surú no da 'Anyway, this is what we're going to do'.

These nominal sentences (in all three meanings) freely turn into subjects, objects, etc., as any noun might do. They can also be negativized, but it is more common to negativize the underlying sentence, especially (? always) in meaning 3. A double negative is possible: Tabako o nománai no (= wáke) zya nái 'It's not that he doesn't smoke'. The sentences can be turned into concurrents (... no négara -- though this sounds strange with verbals), provisionals (... no nára [Asoko ga sízuka na no nara benkyoo si ni itté mo íi 'Provided it's quiet there we can go there to study'] -- with verbals and adjectivals often shortened to ... nára with the meaning 'if it's a case of ...' [cf. §17.8]), conditionals (... no dáttara [Ookíi no dáttara 'If it were large(r) ...']), alternatives (... no dáttari [Ookíi no [illegible] dáttari tiisái no dáttari suru 'Sometimes it's large and sometimes it's small']), tentatives (... no daróo); they can be extended (... no da ne etc., §15), conjunctionalized (... no dá kara etc., §17), hearsay-reported (... no da sóo da, §18), quoted (... no dá to, §21), and stylized (... no désu, ... no de gozaimásu, §22). They can be made perfect (... no dátta) even when the underlying sentence has already been made perfect (Yondá no datta 'It was the one that [or that someone] had called'); this might not be expected in meaning 3 (since facts are, after all, facts), but we find such examples as Koo surú no datta no ni 'You should have done it this way (but...)'.

I would expect it to be possible to adnominalize the nominalized sentence, but there seems to be some doubt about the acceptability of these sentences:

? Yobú no no hazu da 'It must be the one that [or that someone] calls'.
? Ookíi no no hazu da 'It must be the big one'.
? Senséi no na no hazu da 'It must be the teacher's'. [Cf. Senséi no hazu da 'It must be the teacher' :-- Senséi (na no) da].

[We find kotó nominalizations adnominalized: Sensoo no kotó da 'It's about the war' --: Sensoo no kotó no hanasí da 'It's a story about the war'. And adnominalization is not uncommon with postadnominals (§13.2), e.g. Míta monó no hazu da 'It must be the one I saw'.]

For sentence-final no-nominalization (= ʔka or yo), see §15.14.

The gerund ...ʔno de and infinitive (--: particle) ... ʔno ni occur with expected meanings of the nominalization; for the third meaning 'fact etc.' there are added uses discussed below. Some people (students, Saitama people) treat ʔno de and ʔno ni (especially the latter) as conjunctionalizations (§17) in these additional meanings: they say Kóre dá no de/ni instead of the standard Kóre ná no de/ni . Cf. the Tokyo treatment of monó (da), §17.1.

/14.2.1. *No de.*/ The nominal gerund *... dé* has the meaning 'it is and (so)', hence the meaning of *... ⁿno de* 'it is a fact that ... and so' or just 'as/since (it is a fact that) ...'. This is a common way of ~~stating~~ stating a circumstance and a consequence: *Ame ga huttá no de sanpo dekínakatta* 'Since it rained, we couldn't take our walk' or 'It rained so we couldn't take our walk'. The circumstance and the consequence are rather evenly balanced in emphasis. This contrasts with the *kara*-conjunctionalization (§17.1) *Ame ga huttá kara (huttá mono de, huttá tame) sanpo dekínakatta* 'We couldn't take our walk because it rained' in which the emphasis is on the consequence and the circumstance is offered as a reason. Cf. also *-tá no de wa* (§ _____).

/14.2.2. *No ni.*/ In the first two meanings of the *no*-nominalization, 'act' and 'the one(s) which', the particle *ni* can occur as it might with any noun, when called for to specify an indirect object ('to the one which') or when appropriate for a particular nuclear sentence, as in sentences meaning 'necessary for': *surú no ni iru* (*bituyoo da*, etc.) 'it is needed for doing (in order to do)'. In this use, the "for" build-up is often deemphasized with *wa* in order to play up the perquisite: *Kirei ni káku no ni wa hude ga iru* 'You ~~have~~ need a brush to write nicely'.

In the third meaning 'fact (etc.)', *ní* occurs as the infinitive of the copula *dá* with a special implication: 'despite the fact that'. [In addition to *ni*, you will — elsewhere — find both *ga* and *o* used with antithetical meanings, as noted in §2.2.]

Yobú no da. —: *Yobú no ni* 'Although (despite the fact that) one calls ...'
Ookíi no da. —: *Ookíi no ni* 'Although (it is) big ...'
Senséi na no da. —: *Senséi na no ni* 'Despite his being a teacher ...'
Senséi no na no da. —: *Senséi no na no ni* 'Despite it's being a teacher's ...'

The antithetical meaning is stronger than that in conjunctionalizations with *ké(re)do (mo)* 'though' (§17.4) and *ˀga* 'but' (§17.5).

Note the additional adnominal represented by the pronoun *kono* (§13.5) in *Kono atúi no ni dekakerú n desu ka?* 'Are you going out despite this heat?' Some special uses of *...ˀno ni* as sentence-final (making a minor sentence-type, or fragment, §23) translate the English 'I wish': *Kanemoti nara íi no ni* 'I wish I were rich (but ...)'. *Asoko dáttara yókatta no ni* 'I wish that had been the place (but ...)'. Cf. provisional §9.3, conditional §9.4.

In place of *ˀno ni* you may hear *kusé ni* (§13.2) for situations involving some feeling of deceit: *Yásuku katta kusé ni takakatta to iu* 'He claims it was expensive despite the fact he bought it cheap'. *Siranai kusé ni sitta kao o suru* 'He puts on a knowing look even though he doesn't know'. *Kóre wa wakái kuné ni maru de oitizyuu-nen sugí no roozin no yóo na kotó o iu* 'He says things (talks) just like an old man of over 70 despite the fact that he is young'. This expression is seldom written, but it is common in speech.

/14.2.3. Post-positional *ˀno.*/ There is a special use of the *no*-nominalization with a preceding nominal adnominalization (*dá* —: *no*) in which the second (= new core) nominal is a specific instance of the former: *Kutúsita no usúi no wa nái ka?* 'Haven't you any thin stockings?' This seems best derived as follows: *Kutúsita ga usui* 'The stockings are thin' —: *Kutúsita* (*ga* —:) *no usúi no da* 'It is the ones (about which we can say) the stockings are thin, It is the ones with thin stockings' —: *Kutúsita no usúi no ga áru* 'There exist thin stockings' (—: etc.). In other words, the first *no* is taken as a the deemphasized subject of the adnominal. Another interpretation would be to take it as the adnominal form of the copula: *Kutúsita da* 'They are stockings' —: *Kutúsita no, (...) no da* 'They are the ones which (are ...) and which are stockings', i.e. 'They are stockings and they are thin', with two adnominals modifying the pro-adnominal *no*.

The second interpretation, though "intuitively" less convincing, is perhaps supported by the phonology, which often inserts a pause, e.g.:
O-imo no, nitá no ga áru yo! 'Roasted sweet potatoes!'

Other examples: Kawagutu no haki-hurúsita no o kureta 'He gave me his old shoes'. Botán-yuki no, nísiki no yóo na no ga huri-dasita 'It started to snow large flakes, like brocade'.

14.3. Verbal nouns. There are quite a few verbal nouns, mostly of Chinese (but some of English or native) origin; they form phonological compounds with the verb suru 'does'. Some are intransitive, some transitive; and many carry special grammar with them, just like verbs (13.1). In addition to regular nominalization built on suru (suru koto da, surú no da, etc.), there are special nominalizations which consist of dropping suru and reducing to the verbal noun itself, with the specification of subject or object (or both) obscured by reduction to no:

VNI Koogyoo ga dokuritu suru 'Industry is independent'.
--: Koogyoo no dokuritu da 'It is the independence of industry'.

VNT (1) Gakusya ga sizin o kenkyuu suru 'Scholars study poets',
(2) Sizin ga gakusya o kenkyuu suru 'Poets study scholars'.
--: Gakusya no kenkyuu da (1) 'It is the study by the scholars',
(2) 'It is the study of (about) the scholars'.
--: Sizin no kenkyuu da (1) 'It is the study of (about) the poets',
(2) 'It is study by the poets'.

Thus the sentence Gakusya no sizin no kenkyuu da is multiply ambiguous:
(1) 'It is the study, by the scholars, of poets.'
(2) 'It is the study of scholars by poets.'
(3) 'It is the study of poet-scholars = poets who are scholars (:-- Gakusya da)!'
(4) 'It is the study of scholars' poets (:-- Gakusya no da).

Build-ups other than subject and object need not lose their specification; instead the build-up is treated as nominal and then adnominalized (dé --: nó): Gaikoku dé da 'It is happening in foreign countries' --: Gaikoku dé no kenkyuu da 'It is studies (máde) in foreign countries'. This is in keeping with the practice for nouns in general: Gaikoku é no húne da 'It is a boat (headed) for foreign countries', Gaikoku tó no torihiki da 'It is transactions with foreign countries', etc.

A Japanese scholar once suggested creating by analogy the combinations *ga no and *o no to clear up the ambiguity in these constructions: *Gakusya ga no kenkyuu da, *Sizin ga o no kenkyuu da, etc. The ambiguity of subject is sometimes cleared up by adnominalizing suru: Gakusya ga/no suru kenkyuu da 'It is the study the scholars do', but you cannot say *Sizin o suru kenkyuu da 'It is the study they do on poets'. [Why is this?]

Verbal nouns, whether transitive or intransitive, can be turned into the object of suru, wa provided there is no other object mentioned: Koogyoo ga dokuritu o suru 'Industry is independent', Gakusya ga kenkyuu o suru 'Scholars do the research'; this is the origin of the preceding technique for clarifying the subject. To be deemphasized (with wa) or reemphasized (with no) or marked by any other particle, the verbal-noun expression must be nominalized with subject and/or object (if present) adnominalized.

It is an open question whether we should regard the verbal noun as the RESULT of a process of nominalization (by omitting suru) or whether we should regard the expression with suru as built on the verbal noun, either by a new process of verbalization or simply by direct adverbialization of the noun

to the verb suru which could then be given the meanings (1) 'does it' (with the "it" expressed adverbially unless the verbal noun is specified with o) and (2) 'does it to (an object)' (with the "it" always adverbialized, to avoid a double object). The former treatment has a certain apriceristic appeal, because of what happens to subject and object; but the latter treatment would seem to fit better into the more naturalistic view taken here that unspecified build-ups are, by Japanese grammar, adverbial in nature (§2.1). The problem of verbal nouns is on the borderline beyond which I would reject the sort of flagrant deletion necessary to achieve that specious "economy of rules" so sedulously sought by some.

It would be possible to "derive" virtually all nouns from nominal sentences, as I have implied elsewhere in this work, but I would like to think of this as a process different in kind, as well as in depth, from nominalization.

/14.4. The ˇtyuu da nominalization./ The suffix ˇtyuu (da) is added to time words to give the meaning '(is) during': gozen-tyuu 'during the morning', sensoo-tyuu 'during the war', etc. It is to be distinguished from the suffix ˇzyuu (da) which means 'all through (a place or time)', despite the etymological identity; note the minimal contrast Yasumi-tyuu da 'It is during the vacation' : Yasumi-zyuu da 'It is all through the vacation'. (These are derivational forms, to be covered in Part III.)

Any verbal noun can enter into a nominalization VN + ˇtyuu da to mean 'is in the midst of doing', 'is doing'. Since the meaning is very close to (if not identical with) one of the meanings of -te iru (§9.2.4[.1]), we might want to consider the transform to be from that: Sanpo site iru 'He is taking a walk' --: Sanpoo-tyuu da 'He is in the midst of a walk'. Now, why do we want to consider this an example of nominalization transform rather than just a derivational process (to be relegated to Part III)? In the first place, ANY verbal noun capable of the -te iru transform can be nominalized with the ˇtyuu da transform (there are no lexical restrictions); in the second place, the build-ups (subject, object, etc.) remain unchanged:

Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku site iru 'The company is building dormitories' --: Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku-tyuu da 'The company is in the midst of building dormitories'.

This transform is one of two that produce the appearance of a nominal taking a direct object (the other is the alternant subject exaltation of o-...-i da ~ o-...-i ni náru); the direct object is, of course, to the verb of the underlying sentence.

There are a number of cases where ˇtyuu da is added to infinitive-derived nouns (§14.5) and other nouns of action: O-hanasi-tyuu da 'It is in the midst of your conversation', Sigoto-tyuu da 'It is in the midst of work', etc. These are derivational in nature, to be included with Yasumi-tyuu da and Gozen-tyuu da, etc., in Part III.

/14.5. Infinitive-derived nouns./ Quite a large number of nouns are derived from verbal infinitives (with the accent, if any, usually moved to the last syllable), as in Iki mo kaerí mo dénsya datta 'Both going and returning were by streetcar'. There are also a few nouns derived from adjectival infinitives: tikáku 'vicinity' from tikáku 'being nearby' (? and sitaku 'preparations' from sitai 'wants to / will do'), tookú 'distant place' from tooku 'being distant' (tookú e iku 'goes to a distant place', tookú kara 'from a distance'), and possibly osokú 'a late time' (in osokú made 'till late' -- though elsewhere I have treated this as a special use of the infinitive).

[More common are nouns with the same shape as adjective bases --e.g. color words such as ao 'blue' : aói 'is blue' -- and it is not entirely clear which way the derivation should be assigned descriptively, though the existence of some color nouns without corresponding adjectives (midori 'green') suggests that the adjective, with its greater morphemic complexity, is to be derived from the noun. Cf. the discussion on equating the verbal infinitive -i/-∅ with the adjectival infinitive -ku rather than the raw base, §9.1.

Some of the derived nouns appear to be used in place of nominalizations: Oyogí ga dekíru = Oyógu koto ga dekíru 'I can swim' (but the former has a more restricted sense of know-how or physical ability than the latter). The difference is that the derived nouns do not carry with them the build-ups of the underlying verbals (i.e. they are derived directly from the nuclear sentence); rather, like verbal nouns, they can only be modified by adnominalizations: Inú ga oyógu 'The dog swims' but Inu no oyogí da 'It is the dog's swimming'; Kanzi o yómu 'They read a Chinese character' but Kanzi no yomí da 'It is the reading of a Chinese character'. With transitive verbs, this can lead to the same sort of ambiguity we found with verbal nouns:

(1) Gakusya ga sizin o sirabéru 'Scholars investigate poets',
(2) Sizin ga gakusya o sirabéru 'Poets investigate scholars'.

--: Gakusya no sirabé da (1) 'It is an investigation by scholars',
(2) 'It is an investigation into scholars'.
--: Sizin no sirabé da (1) 'It is an investigation into poets',
(2) 'It is an investigation by poets'.

It might be said that infinitive-derivation is a device to produce verbal nouns from verbs; but unlike other verbal nouns these infinitive-derived nouns do not ordinarily enter into further verbalization with [i.e. "into adverbialization to"] the transitive suru: Although you can say (Sono) sirabé o suru 'They do (that) investigation' you can not say *Sore o sirabé suru 'They investigate that' the way you can say Sore o kenkyuu suru 'They study that'. [[This gap would lend comfort to those who would like to derive the nuclear verb from the infinitive -- e.g. (*)sirabé suru --: sirabéru (by deletion of su-), and the accent of the tonic imperfects (one syllable later than that of the infinitive etc.) would support the view that it is the derived noun rather than the infinitive itself that underlies the imperfect. Unfortunately for this view, there are many verbs which lack derived nouns, so that such a grammar would accumulate a number of otherwise unneeded hypothetical forms.]] In contrast, note the object-exalting forms that use honorific infinitives (o- + infinitive minus any accent) + suru (§6.3): Sensei o o-sirabe suru 'I investigate the teacher (or you, Doctor)' is a possible sentence. [[If we assume a /+/ in the derivation of o-...-i suru, it might simplify accounting for the loss of accent to assume that the derived noun underlies the honorific infinitive, since a final accent would be lost before /+/ automatically; in providing a second need for the hypothetical derived nouns of those verbs which lack attested derived nouns, this would buttress the argument bracketed just above.]] Since not all verbals have produced verbal nouns (e.g. there seems to be no *arukí from arúki [from arúku 'walks']) the process of deriving nouns would seem to be historical in its productivity. Compare the many verbal nouns derived by adding -goto or -mono (in the meaning 'doing' alongside the other meanings 'result of doing' and 'one who does') to the infinitive: si-goto 'job, work', ? sirabe-goto 'investigating', ?warai-goto 'laughing', ...; kai-mono 'shopping', arai-mono 'washing', ..., etc. (Part III, § ___).

Change double-bracketed material to footnotes.

/14.6. Direct nominalization./ In literary Japanese, sentences are directly nominalized without the noun ʻno; build-up specifying particles can directly follow the imperfect or perfect, especially the particle ni (but occasionally also tó and o). From this usage a few expressions have entered the colloquial language, and the more common of these are treated in the following sections. In addition, we can briefly note the following, more limited in speech (with the exception of clichés):

(1) ʻni atai suru 'is worth (doing)'. Izure sinu watakusi no séimei wa ... nobásu ni atai sinai 'My life, about to depart at any moment, is not worth prolonging'.

(2) ʻni atatte 'when (it comes to)'. Syómotu o erábu ni atatte 'When it comes to selecting books'.

(3) ʻni itaru 'comes to do, leads to (doing), results/ends in (doing)'. Sin-zíru ni itaru 'comes to believe'. Sippai no kekka hasan surú ni itatta 'The failure led to bankruptcy'. Koo kangáeru ni itatta 'She came to think this way'.

(4) ʻni mo kakawárazu 'regardless of its doing, despite'. Hantai ga áru ni mo kakawárazu 'despite opposition'.

(5) ʻni makaséru 'leaves it to do'. Mé o tubutte musumé-ra no sáru ni makáseta 'He closed his eyes and let the girls leave'. Syúui no zyumoku mo sigéru ni makaserárete iru 'The surrounding vegetation is left to overgrow'.

(6) ʻni cyobu 'extends to the doing of, has occasion (call, need) to do'. Soo surú ni wa ʻcyobanai 'There's no need to go that far'. Sinpai surú ni wa cyobanai 'There's no call for alarm'. Isógu ni wa cyobanai 'There's no need to rush'. Ayamáru ni wa cyobanai 'You need not apologize'.

(7) ʻni sitagatte (= ʻni turete) 'in proportion to, (according) as'. Bunmei ga susumú ni sitagatte 'As civilization progresses'. Syuunyuu ga masú ni sitagatte 'In proportion as one's income rises'. Tosí o tóru ni sitagatte tié ga tukú 'Wisdom comes with age'. Karada ga yóku náru ni sitagatte, Tookyoo ga kóisiku nátta 'As my health returned I began to long for Tokyo'.

(8) ʻni tar(ir)u 'is sufficient to do; (= ʻni atai suru) is worth doing'. Syoo-sóru ni taru 'is worthy of praise'. Hotóndo odoróku ni taranai 'I should scarcely have been surprised'. Kyuudai sitá no wa ayasíimu ni taranai 'No wonder he passed'. Aité ni surú ni tarinai 'He is not a good match'. Ron-zíru ni tarimai 'It is not worth discussing'.

(9) ʻni teki-sóru 'proves suitable for (doing)'. Sore wa bungaku-teki ni atukaú ni wa ói-ni teki-site iru 'It lends itself admirably to a literary treatment'. Kanuu o noserú ni teki-sita mono 'Something suitable for carrying a canoe'.

(10) ʻni todomáru 'it is limited to (the doing), it amounts to nothing more than, simply'. Tán ni kiboo o nóbeta ni todomáru 'I simply expressed my desire'.

(11) ´ni turete 'in proportion to, (according) as'. Tokí ga tátu ni turete 'As time goes by'. Kanemotí ni náru ~~kóto~~ ni turete sinpai ga ócku náru 'Wealth brings with it many anxieties'. Sotugyoo ni hi ga tikazíku ni turete 'As graduation day draws near'.

(12) ´ni zyuubún da 'is sufficient for (doing)'. Sore wa karé-ra o odorokaséru ni zyuubún na nyúusu datta 'That was a bit of news sufficient to startle them'. Sore wa káre no udemae o syoo-sóru ni zyuubún de áru 'That is sufficient to prove his ability'.

(13) ´ni utte-tuke da 'is just the one for (doing)'. Imootó wa ... hakobú ni wa utte-tuke dátta 'The younger sister was (built) ... just right to carry it'. Asoko e dorájbu suru ni wa, káre wa utte-tuke no aité datta 'He was the ideal person to drive there with'.

(14) to onazi da 'is the same as (doing)'. Watasi ga muné ni ukabeta to onazi kotó o káre wa itta 'He said the same thing as had floated into my mind'. Itu mo syunidó-si ga suru to onazi yóo ni Miyo no té ga karuku Soozyúuroo no katá ni nóbita 'Miyo's hand reached lightly out to Soozyuuroo's shoulder the same as the monks would always do'. Kinoo kiita to onazi hanasí da 'It is the same story I heard yesterday'.

(15) to dóozi ni 'at the same time as', to doo-zikoku ni 'at the same moment as'. Hime wa ano gen-ei o mita to doo-zikoku ni tyúui wa sinzoo o uti-nukarete taórета no de áru 'At the instant the princess saw that vision the captain fell shot through the heart'. Hí wa tukú to dóozi ni sirói hai ni tutumárete toosyoku ni nátta 'The fire as soon as ignited was surrounded with white ashes and turned an orange color'.

...

In addition to these, there are a number of other examples perhaps best treated as abbreviations of ´no ni (cf. §14.2.2, and note that accent behavior supports the view of no-deletion before ´ni in these examples and the ones above, but see Pt IV for a more general statement of accent which makes this point seem less compelling, especially in the light of the cases with to); see Ishigaki 39-40. To this category belongs ´ni koraéru/sinóbu 'stands, bears': Karé-ra no kaiwa o kikú ni koraénakatta 'I couldn't stand their conversation'. Sonna kotó o surú ni sinobínai 'I cannot find it in my heart to do so' [? pseudo-literary negative = sinobánai; ? sinobí (ga) nái -- cf. tigai nái, but disturbing is the citation by Ishigaki of the form sinobimu]. Note that -(a)zu ni súmu [= -(a)nái de súmu 'gets by without doing'] is treated separately (§9.6).

We also find cases with other particles (besides ´ni and to): Tyoodai sitá mo onazi kotó desu 'I will take the will for the deed'. Atarasí mo onazi désu 'It is as good as new'. See also -(a)záru o énai (§___) 'can't help doing'. Among sentence-introducers (§24) we find Yoo-surú ni 'In a word', ... See also -(y)óo ga, -(y)óo ni (§17.6), -(y)oo zya nái ka (§13.2). Note that Iú made mo nái 'It goes without saying' involves a postadnominal (§13.2) rather than a particle.

/14.6.1. ʼNi tigai nái./ To the imperfect or perfect (but not the tentative) can be added ʼni tigai nái and the resulting sentence means 'it surely does/did, undoubtedly it does/did, it must do / have done' etc. The copula dá drops in nominal sentences:

Yobu.	--:	Yobú ni tigai nái 'Surely he calls / will call'.
Ookíi.	--:	Ookíi ni tigai nái 'Surely it is large'.
Hón da.	--:	Hón ni tigai nái 'Surely it is a book'.
Génki da.	--:	Génki ni tigai nái 'Surely he is healthy'.

Tigai is a noun 'discrepancy' derived from the infinitive of tigau 'it differs', and tigai nái can be thought of as a reduction from tigai ga/wa nái 'there is no discrepancy (in the fact that)'; the form with wa is also heard in this expression. A less colloquial synonym is ʼni sooi (wa) nái; sooi is a synonym of tigai.

This expression can be added to most imperfect or perfect sentences of any origin, including negatives: Yobanái ni tigai nái 'Surely he won't call'. Ookiku nái ni tigai nái 'Surely it isn't large'. Hón zya nái ni tigai nái 'Surely it isn't a book'. You can even create such involved sentences as Yobanai kotó ga nái kotó mo nái ni tigai nái 'Surely it also never happens that they unfailingly call' with a quadruple negative (§14.1.1). But resisting the expression we find hearsay (*... sóo ni tigai nái), semblative (*...rasíi ni tigai nái), and evidential (*...-sóo/-gé ni tigai nái).

The resulting sentence can be stylized (ni tigai [wa] arimasén, ni tigai [wa] gozaimasén), quoted (ni tigai nái to iu), hearsay-reported (ni tigai nái soo da); it can be made perfect (ni tigai nákatta) or tentative (ni tigai nái daróo) or perfect tentative (ni tigai nákatta daróo); it can be extended (ni tigai nái ne/ka/etc. -- even ni tigai nái ka mo sirenai 'maybe there's no doubt that'), adnominalized (ni tigai nái + NOUN/POSTADNOMINAL), made gerund (ni tigai nákute wa/mo, ni tigai nái de -- but further constructions are [illegible] subject to the limitations of éru itself, e.g. no *... kudasai) or infinitive (ni tigai náku [náru]), made concurrent (ni tigai nái nagara), made provisional (ni tigai nákereba) or conditional (ni tigai nákattara), made alternative (ni tigai nákattari), nominalized (ni tigai nái kotó ga éru, ni tigai nái no da), conjunctionalized (ni tigai nái kara/to/etc.); it can become evidential (ni tigai nasa-sóo da, ni tigai na-gé da) and semblative (ni tigai nai rasíi); the emphasis of the nucleus of the expression can be reduced (ni tigai náku wa éru) or reinforced (ni tigai náku mo éru, ni tigai náku sae éreba). But the expression can not be made excessive (*ni tigai nasa-sugiru despite Tigai ga/wa nasa-sugiru 'He has too few mistakes = is too perfect'), and is restricted with respect to a few other things more generally excludable from all adjectivals (e.g. being made desiderative) or to all verbals outside human control (e.g. favors, potentials).

/14.6.2. ʼNi sugínai./ A sentence can be followed by ni sugínai with the meaning 'It is nothing more than (a case of)' or 'only, just, merely'.

Yobu.	--:	Yobú ni sugínai 'He merely calls'.
Ookíi.	--:	(Tyótto) ookíi ni sugínai 'It is just (a little) large'.
Hón da.	--:	(Tíisa-na) hón ni sugínai 'It is merely (a (little) book'.

As with ʼni tigai nái, the resulting sentence can be transformed into any sentence appropriate to a negative, including evidential (ni sugínasa-sóo da) and semblative (ni sugínai rasíi); but it cannot have its nuclear emphasis reduced (*ni sugínaku wa éru, *ni sugí wa nái) or reinforced (*ni sugínaku mo/sae éru, *ni sugí mo/sae nái). As with ni tigai nái, the sentence to which ni sugínai is attached can be imperfect, perfect, negative, etc, but not tentative (*Yobú daróo ni sugínai) nor hearsay (*Yobu sóo ni sugínai). The semblative has been reported (with some disapproval) in sentences like Sensoo ga okotta rasíi ni sugínai (= Sensoo ga okotta rásiku miéru ni sugínai) 'It just LOOKED as if a war had broken out'; and there seem to be some doubts about approving the evidential in sentences like Zyoobu-sóo (na no) ni sugínai. (= Zyoobu-sóo ni miéru ni sugínai 'He only LOOKS robust'.

Note that copular nouns can take the form: Mare ni sugínai 'It is just rare (that's all)'; cf. Mare-sugíru 'It is overly rare', Mare-sugínai 'It is not overly rare' (both said only as contradiction to a prior assertion or as sarcasm.

14.6.3. 'Ni kimatte iru. To any imperfect sentence (? but not perfect) you can add 'ni kimatte iru 'is sure (certain, bound) to', 'you have to expect it to', 'obviously': Seikoo surú ni kimatte iru 'He is bound to succeed'. Mukoo ga kátu ni kimatte iru 'The other side is bound to win'. Káre wa korosarerú ni kimatte ita 'It was clear that he would be killed'. Ikanái ni kimatte irú sa 'Of course I won't go'. Natú wa atúi ni kimatte iru 'You have to expect summers to be hot'. Kusuri wa mazúi ni kimatte iru 'Medicine always tastes bad'. Kono utí mo káno-zyo no monó de áru ni kimatte iru 'Obviously this house belongs to her, too'. In the last example, de áru ni could be made more colloquial by using na no ni or simply ni (with copula dropping).

Further restrictions on this form have not been explored.

14.6.4. 'Ni kagíru. The expression 'ni kagíru can be added to a verbal imperfect with the meaning 'the best (or only) way is to (do)': Kimi wa damátte iru ni kagíru yo 'Your best bet is to keep your mouth shut'.
Further examples are needed to explore restrictions on the form.

14.6.5. 'Ni koto-kaite. The expression 'ni koto-kaite can be added to a verbal imperfect with the meaning 'of all the possibilities to ... (you had to go and ...)': Iú ni koto-kaite sonna sitúrei na ii-kata o suru! 'Of all things you had to say something so rude!'
Further examples are needed to explore restrictions on the form.

15. Sentence extensions. Any sentence can be extended by adding FINAL PARTICLES and a few combinations of these and similar elements. Unless otherwise noted, the extensions can be added to imperfect, perfect, tentative, etc.

15.1. Né(e), ná(a). The particles né(e) and ná(a) soften a statement and invite confirmation on the part of the hearer: 'don't you think, n'est-ce pas?' The ná(a) form is more rustic and vigorous, hence often used by men and boys among friends or people of the same age and social status (or to inferiors, but usually not to superiors). Nominal sentences (like Kore dá ne 'It is this') optionally drop the plain copula (Kore né), and this is the source of the né interpolated so freely after phrases throughout the sentence, especially in the speech of women and in telephone conversations, where a quick response of hé or é(e) or ń(n) 'uh-huh' is often called for. The particle né(e) is often used to soften requests (§16) and propositions (§12.2). For abbreviation of né to i or e see §15.7 (ka i, dá i). Stylized sentences are often extended with né(e): desu né(e), de gozaimásu né(e); and they are sometimes heard also with ná(a). Née and Náa are also used as interjections (§23) to equals or inferiors, somewhat like English 'Say, ...' or 'Look, ...'.

15.2. Sa. The particle sa is vigorous and assertive, put on at the end of a sentence to mean 'indeed' or 'believe-you-me' or 'let-me-tell-you ...'. A nominal sentence usually drops dá when adding sa: Kore da. --: Kore (dá) sa! (or, §14.2, Kore ná no sa!). From this, perhaps, comes the occasional interpolation after phrases within the sentence, especially kara 'because' and kédo 'however': Dá kara sa 'And that's why ...' and Dá kedo sa 'But anyway ...' are frequent sentence-introducers (§24) in the speech of many people. (We also find Dá tte sa ... = Dé mo sa ... 'But still ...' -- not to be confused with Só da tte sa! 'That's what they say (all right)!') There is an interjection Séa ... 'Well ...' or 'Now then ...', often used to introduce a proposition (exhortation), command, or self-question of doubt. Cf. Née ..., Náa ... in the preceding section.

15.3. Yo. The particle yo is an emphatic 'indeed', often put at the end of warnings (Abunai yo! 'It's dangerous!') like an exclamation mark. In Standard speech it does not occur except at the end of a sentence (perfect, imperfect, tentative, etc.); it can also occur after the feminine particle 'wa (Abunái wa yo!) which is limited to imperfect and perfect. And in country dialects yo is sometimes used like sa or né to punctuate phrases within a sentence; in such dialects it is often pronounced long yoo: Dá kara yo(o), gakko(o) e yo(o), ikanai yo(o) 'That's why, see, I'm not going to school, see'. Lately the short form yo is said to be in vogue among rough young men in Tokyo as a synonym of sa (which may be losing some of its vigor now that everyone is using it). Yo is also said to be common in the speech of nagging children.

The copula dá is optionally omitted: Kore (dá) yo (or, §14.2 , Kore ná no yo) 'It's this!'

The particle yo can also be used to firm up requests and propositions. See §12.2, §16. There is also a dialect form i.

15.4. 'Wa. With unstylized speech, the particle 'wa is almost exclusively a woman's item and it helps give women's speech its characteristically feminine flavor. With polite and honorific stylizations (§22: -másu wa, désu wa, de gozaimásu wa) it is also much used by women, but in addition you will hear middle-aged gentlemen using it when they deliver an assertion with a certain air of assurance or authority. 'Wa, unlike yo, is not used after tentative (*Kore daróo wa), command (*Iké wa), or proposition (*Ikóo wa). Sentence-final /wai/, apparently 'wa i = 'wa yo, is dialect.

15.5. Zo, ze. The two forceful particles zo and ze are almost exclusively used by men. Of the two, only ze can follow the propositive (Ikoo ze! but not *Ikoo zo! 'Let's go, man!'), and neither can follow a command (*Ike ze/zo).

15.6. ʔKa. The particle ʔka marks a question. Questions can be asked either with this particle (or some substitute such as ʔno, §15.14) or -te, §9.2) or with no particle but with half-lengthening of the final vowel (or ñ) and a rise of intonation; the half-lengthening restores voicing to any syllable that has become unvoiced under the unvoicing rules (Part IV, §___): enpítí 'a pencil', Enpítu da 'It is a pencil', Enpítu:? = Enpítí ka? 'Is it a pencil?' For nominal sentences, the unstylized copula dá usually drops, as in the preceding example; there is some question whether *Nán da ka? and *Dére da ka? (etc.) ever occur. But when stylized the copula is present: Enpítu désu:? = Enpítu désú ka? And with question words, it is often ʔka that drops: Dére da? or Dére ka? 'Who is it?' Nán da? or Náni ka? 'What is it?' (Since dá by itself can sound a bit blunt as a sentence ending, the former forms are more common in the speech of boys and men.) Within a sentence, the questions with ʔka can have a special meaning 'somebody, something, etc.': Dére ka (or Dére da ka) sirimasén 'I don't know who it is' or 'Somebody doesn't know'. Dére dátta ka sirimasén desita 'I didn't know who it was' or 'Somebody didn't know who it was' (the 'somebody' meaning is somewhat less common with the perfect). Nán daroo ka (or Náni ka sira) nódo ni tukáeta yóo na kanzi da 'It feels as if something or other were stuck in my throat'.

Alternative questions can be asked, with a rising intonation on the first and a falling intonation on the second: Kore ka, sore ka 'Is it this,or that?' Kore dátta ka, sore dátta ka 'Was it this,or that?' A further use of the nominal question is an extension of the alternative question with the last question de-interrogativized: Kore ka sore da 'It is this or that'. A ka B (ka C) ga íi daroo 'A and B (or C) would be fine'. Cf. A to B (§2.7) which might be regarded as from the quotation transform (§21),as I have indicated for A tó ka B (see §21.6), or, again, from A dé to (§17.2 -- cf. A da B da C da tte ...), though derivation from the particle 'with' may be simpler. In Kore ka náni ka da 'It is this or something' we have the special meaning of ka with question word, and this does not de-interrogativize (to *Kore ka nán da) directly; instead, náni ka (:-- *Nán da ka) is directly nominalized and the sentence is to be treated as N_1 dá ka + N_2 dá ka --: N_1 ka N_2 da 'It is N_1 or N_2' with N_2 derived from a sentence *N dá ka.

Other cases where the sentence QUESTION WORD +(dá)+ ka is directly nominalized are these: Dáre (datta) ka ni aimásita 'I met somebody'. Itu (datta) ka [ga] mondai da 'It is a question when it was is (was)'. But such direct nominalization is typical for any question, with or without a question word: Kónban kúru ka (ga) wakaránai 'I don't know whether he is coming tonight (or not)'. In such cases, when there is a general alternative 'or not' Japanese, like English, can give just the one question (as in the preceding example); or, it can give a minimal alternative "pro-sentence" (§29) Dóo (da) ka 'How is it?': Kónban kúru ka dóo ka (ga) wakaránai. 'I don't know whether he is coming tonight or not/what'. It is usual to do this rather than repeat the sentence in its negative form, as the English would suggest doing: Kúru ka kónai ka (ga) wakaránai 'I don't know whether he is coming or not coming', but there is nothing ungrammatical about such a sentence. In place of Dóo ka you also hear Náni ka as the alternative to a nominal sentence: Kore ka sore ka (o) kime nasái 'Decide on this one or that one', Kore ka náni ka (o) kime nasái 'Decide on this one or on something'. But adjectival nominals, like adjectivals and verbals, will take only Dóo ka: Bénri ka dóo ka (o) sitte irú ka 'Do you know whether it is convenient or not?'

By way of direct nominalization, questions can be adnominalized: (Maru de / Ataka-mo) ... áru/átta ka no yóo da 'It is just as if we had (got) ...'. One special use of the 'or not' alternative question (without reduction to Dóo ka) is found in Surú ka sinai uti ni ... sita 'I did it before I knew it' (for which there is a literary or semi-literary equivalent Surú ya ína ya, in which ína 'nay' functions as an analog to colloquial dóo, and ya to colloquial ka); we would instead expect Surú ka sinái ka no utí ni ..., and the latter form also occurs (?) so that the former can perhaps be regarded as an abbreviation.

A common way to complain or protest is to use an imperfect sentence adnominalized to monó/món da 'it is natural (to be expected) that' (§13.2) as a question: Sonna kotó ga áru món ka 'How can such things be?!' [DOES THIS ALSO OCCUR WITH PERFECT?]

Another way to ask a question, a friendly use much favored by women and children, is to use a no-nominalization (§14.2) as a complete sentence (with a slight rise of pitch): Kónban kúru no? 'Are you coming this evening?' Omosírokatta no? 'Was it fun?' Senséi datta no? 'Was it the teacher?' Kore ná no? 'Is it this one?' This works only for imperfect and perfect sentences; there is no tentative *Senséi daroo no? (*Kore daróo no?) because the tentative does not normally adnominalize (§13.3). Cf. §15.14ff.

The particle ka can be used not only with imperfect, perfect, and tentative (Ikú daroo ka 'I wonder if he will go?') but also with propositions: Ikóo ka? 'Shall we go?' = 'Let's go' or 'You wanna go?'

15.7. ʔKa né(e). The particle combination ʔka né(e) is a softer way to ask a question. It is also used when talking to yourself (with others invited to eavesdrop), and in that event né(e) is usually replaced by ná(a): Sóo ka ná(a) 'I wonder about that'. In place of ka né, many people use what is said to be an abbreviation ʔka i; others, said to be dialect speakers, use ʔka e. Just as ... dá ka usually shortens to ...ʔka, ... dá ka né usually shortens to ...ʔka ne/i/e: Kore ka i? 'Is it this one?' After question words, just as ... dá ka shortens to ... dá, ... dá ka né shortens to ... dá ne, and this is often pronounced dá i (or dá e by those who say ʔka e).

ʔKa né, like ʔka, can be used to extend imperfect, perfect, and tentative sentences, and also can be used with propositions: Ikóo ka ne/i/e 'Shall we/I go?'

15.8. ʔKa mo sirenai. Questions are often put into sentences meaning 'asks whether ...', 'knows if ...', etc., by the direct nominalization mentioned above, and from this comes the expressions with the question reinforced by the particle mo and followed by the negative potential form of siru (--: sireru) --: sirenai 'can't know': 'we can't know whether' = 'maybe, perhaps'. This differs from the tentative in that no opinion is offered about probability: Sóo darco means you think 'It must be that way'; Sóo ka mo sirenai means 'It may be that way' but you have no way of knowing or guessing. The form can be stylized: ʔka mo siremasén or ʔka mo sirenái desu (§22.1[illegible]). It can be nominalized (ʔka mo sirenái no da) and adnominalized (Kúru ka mo sirenai hitó da 'It is a person who may come'), conjunctionalized (ʔka mo sirenái kara etc.), quoted (ʔka mo sirenai to iu), hearsay-reported (ʔka mo sirenai sóo da), and so forth; it can be put in the perfect (ʔka mo sirenákatta) -- even if the question itself is already perfect, and it can be put in the tentative (ʔka mo sirenái daroo [ga ...]). It can be followed by further sentence extensions: ʔka mo sirenai né(e)/sa/yo/wa/zo, but not *ʔka mo sirenái ka (ne/i), though ʔka mo sirenái ka sira (§15.9) is occasionally heard. Instead of sirenai, you will sometimes hear siran(ai): Sóo ka siran 'Maybe so'; it is not clear whether this (like ikanai for ikenai = damé da) is dialect. Cf. ʔka sira (§15.9).

/15.9. ʼKa sira./ The word sira is a shortening from siranu = siranai 'I don't know', and the combination ʼka sira is tacked on to a sentence that you wonder about to yourself: Sóo ka sira 'I wonder about that'. Unlike ʼka né(e), which invites others to listen in on your musings, you are really talking just to yourself with ʼka sira. Yet, ʼka sira can be used with propositions: Ikéo ka sira 'Shall I/we go?' And the form in any use is largely limited to women's speech; men prefer to stick to ʼka né/ná (§15.7).

/15.10. ʼKke./ The retrospective partiële ʼkke (said to be an abbreviation of literary -keri) can be added to the perfect of verbal, adjectival, and nominal sentences, and also to the unstylized imperfect of nominal sentences:

Yondá kke 'He called, I recall'.
Ókikatta kke 'It was large, I recall'.
Senséi datta kke 'It was the teacher, I recall'.
Senséi da kke 'It is the teacher, I recall'.

The sentences are used in thinking back, recollecting to oneself, or questioning oneself about some situation to be recalled: Ano toki utatte irásita kke 'You were singing at that time, I recall'. Nán datta kke 'What was it, now let me see'. Anáta wa kotósi kazóedosi de nánsai da kke 'Now let me see, how old would you be this year by Japanese count?' The expression, apparently limited to the speech of Tokyo (and surrounding areas?), can be followed by ne, na, ka, ka ne: Kuusco ni muné o hukuramaseta koté mo átta kke ne 'There were times, too, I recall, when I let my chest swell with daydreams, you know'. Anó hito no namae wa nán to iú n da kke ne/na 'Now what was his name, I wonder'.

It is possible to put the perfect into polite style (§22.1) before adding ʼkke: Senséi wa yóku tanka o rocei simásita kke 'The teacher (or You) would often read poems aloud, I recall'. Ítu desita kke (ne) 'Now when would that have been?' Note that there is no polite *... desu kke alongside the plain imperfect ... dá kke (itself something of an anomaly, perhaps allowed because of the shape resemblance between da and -ta).

/15.11. ʼTte./ The particle ʼtte has two uses: one is in quotations (§21), and the other is as a lively equivalent for -té mo 'even doing' (reinforced gerund). In quotations, the particle attaches quite regularly, but the rules for attachment in the second case are somewhat odd:

Verbal	-tá tte	(= -té mo)
Adjectival	-kuté tte	(= -kuté mo)
Nominal	dá tte	(= dé mo)
[emphatic]	dátta tte	

For verbals and adjectivals, at least, the best explanation would seem to be that gerunds have a special shape (with -a instead of -e) before ʼtte: Dáre ga kitá tte (= kité mo) 'Whoever comes', Dáre ga hósikuta tte (= hósikute mo) 'Whichever one is wanted'.

Tte is also used as an abbreviation of to iu and to iú no ga; a less colloquial form (from which it may perhaps be regarded as an abbreviation) is (ʼ)tote: Ikura da t(o)te = Ikura de mo 'However much (it may be)'. See §21.3 for further discussion.

The first t (= q) of tte is automatically suppressed after n: Hón tte /hȭte/.

15.12. Na. After the verbal imperfect, the particle ʼna, said to be an abbreviation of the literary adjectival imperative nakáre 'let it not be', makes a negative command: Yobú na 'Don't call!'; contrast the infinitive + na (abbreviation of nasái): Yobi na(sái) 'Call!' See §16.3. The particle can be followed by yo: Iků na yo 'Don't go!' It can be added after polite stylization: Yobimásu na.

15.13. Koto and ʼno. We have elsewhere treated sentence + koto/ʼno as nominalization (§14); typically (as with adnominalized sentences in general) the sentence is unstylized. Women often use these nominalizations as if full sentences (just as they often indulge in sentence fragments, §23, left dangling for modesty or other reasons); and since the sentences stylize readily before adding koto/ʼno (as often in other fragments such as those with ...ʼkara), it would make sense to treat koto and ʼno by class overlap as sentence extensions like the other sentence-final particles. Koto is used somewhat like né(e), and ʼno has two meanings, kept apart by intonation: question (= ʼka) and emphatic statement (= yo). For example: Siranái n desu no? Hái, siranái n desu no. 'You don't know? That's right, I DON'T know'. You will also hear ...ʼno yo! for greater emphasis. (See also §15.6, end.) Although especially common in the speech of women and children, the ʼno-forms are sometimes used by men; sentence-final koto, however, seems to be distinctively feminine.

15.14. Tó mo. See §21.(14).

15.15. Ttára, ttéba. See §21.1.

16. Requests. Requests are made in Japanese either by a direct command, using an IMPERATIVE form, or -- more commonly -- by various circumlocutions, typically by asking as a favor.

16.1. The imperative. The plain imperative is made by attaching to vowel verbs either -yo or -ro (and -ro can be followed by the particle ʼyo [note accent here]), to consonant verbs -e (which can be followed by the particle ʼyo). The following verbs are irregular:

(1)	suru	séyo	siro, siró yo
(2)	kúru	- [LIT. kóyo]	kói, kói yo
(3)	kureru	-	kure, kuré yo, o-kure yo
(4)	kudaséru		kudasái (yo)
	naséru		nasái (yo)
	irassyéru		irassyái (yo)
	ossyéru		ossyái (yo)

[Atonic verbs acquire an accent on the syllable preceding (-)yo.]

Theoretically, an imperative form could be made from any verbal sentence, but in practice you find some limitations: Some of the exalting forms do not occur for semantic reasons (*O-kaki ni nare, *Itase). Without personification, actions not subject to human control will not occur in imperative or propositive forms; but we do find weather terms (personified, it would seem) such as Téńki ni náre yo or Hárè yo 'Clear up!' It is unusual to find imperatives from áru (or de áru) except in written style: Syooziki/Sínsetu/Téinei de áre 'Be honest/kind/polite!' (Cf. nakáre, §16.3.) A more colloquial style would use a fragment: ... (de) áru yoo ni (§23).

The imperative can be formed on the polite stylization: -másse (yo/ne) or -mási (yo/ne).

Some special written-style uses of the imperative with the meaning 'even' (see Ishigaki 40) seem to be derived from literary -e (domo/ba):

(1) de áre = dé mo: Nán no heyá de áre, móo koko ni tomete morau hoka wa nái 'We have no choice but to get put up for the night here, whatever the room may be'.

(2) áre = átte mo:

(3) tó wa ie = tó ittté mo (§21): Byooki tó wa ie, kére wa ki ga sikkári site ita 'Though ill, he was in good spirits'.
We also find written the literary ... kóso ...-e, where the colloquial would call for ... kóso ... -(r)éba.

(4) ni siro/séyo = ni sité mo = dé mo: Dótira ni siro sore wa onazi da 'Either one/way, it's all the same'. Dóno yóo na zizyoo ni séyo ... dekínakatta 'It was impossible ... under any circumstances'.

From the last we get a number of clichés (Náni siro 'Anyhow, anyway ...'), and a way of linking sentences with 'or' meaning: X ni siro Y ni siro = X ni sité mo Y ni sité mo = X dé mo Y dé mo '(whether) X or Y'.

/16.2. Circumlocutions./ The most common way to make a request is to ask it as a favor:

(1) Site kudesái (ne/yo), Site kure (ne/yo), Site o-kure (ne/ºyo) 'Please do me the favor of doing it'.

This can be made less direct by making it a question, usually with polite stylization (§22.1):
(2) Site kudesaimásu ka? Site kurerú ka? 'Will you do it for me?'

But the question is usually made softer by phrasing it negatively:
(3) Site kudesaimasén ka? Site kurenái/kurén ka? 'Won't you do it for me?'

A still less direct circumlocution is to ask if one will receive the favor:
(4) Site itadakimásu ka? Site morú ka? 'Will I get you to do it for me?'

More commonly, this is put as a potential (§4.4):
(5) Site itadakemásu ka? Site moraerú ka? 'Can I get you to do it for me?'

And this can be made more polite and less direct with the tentative (and with double stylization):
(5a) Site itadakemásu desyoo ka? Site moraerú daroo ka? 'Might I get you to do it for me?'

To either of these, we can add the softening touch of the negative:
(6) Site itadakemasén ka? Site moraenái ka? 'Can't I get you to do it for me?'
(6a) Site itadakemasén desyoo ka? Site moraenái daroo ka? 'Mightn't I get you to do it for me?'

Or, again, the favor-to-be-received may be put in the desiderative (§7):
(7) Site itadakitai/moraitai ('desu). Site hosíi (desu). 'I'd like to have you do it for me'. The object can be treated in either of two ways: Kono sigoto o/ga site hosíi 'I'd like this work done'.

These forms can be made more hesitant by adding monó/ʼn(o) desu ga, suggesting a negative expectation (real or feigned):
(7a) Site itadakitai/moraitai monó/ʼn(o) desu ga ... Site hosíi monó/ʼn(o) desu ga ...

Another, rather casual, way to make a request is to use just the gerund (with kudasái dropped, as it were); this can be followed by ne or yo [? ʼyo]:
(8) Site (ne/yo).

A less polite form is the infinitive (or, for those verbs that have one, the honorific infinitive) + nasái (yo/ne):
(9) Si nasái 'Do it'. (O-)yobi nasái 'Call him'. Mi/Goran nasái 'Look'.

This can be shortened to infinitive + ná (yo):
(10) Yobi ná (yo) 'Call him'. Mi/Goran ná (yo) 'Look'.

Note that gerund + goran nasái 'try doing it' is often used to mean simply 'do it', and freely drops the nasái:
(11) Yonde goran (nasái) 'Try calling', 'Call'.

Somewhat more polite is the honorific infinitive + kudasái:
(12) O-yobi kudasái. Goran kudasái 'Look'. ('Call').
But there is no *(o-)kure kudasái/nasái; instead, kudasái itself is used for 'Give me'.

The expressions with nasái and kudasái can be made more polite with stylization (§22.1): O-yobi nasaimáse/kudasaimáse.

You can also use forms with -(r)u yóo ni + request forms of suru: Yobu yóo ni site kudasái 'Please arrange it so that you call'. Cf. quoted requests, §21. More politely, -(r)u yóo ni can be followed by tanómu/negáu 'requests': Yobu yóo ni tanómu 'I ask you to call', Yobu yóo ni negáu 'I beg you to call', Yobu yóo ni o-negai simásu 'I humbly beg you to call'. O-negai simásu 'I make a humble request' is the most common all-purpose 'Please', often said both as a preamble and as a farewell reminder with a more specific request uttered between. (O-negai simásu can be preceded by Dóo zo for greater emphasis; Dóo zo is also used with the meaning 'Please [go right ahead]' in giving permission or the like.)

Some other forms are:

(13) Si-tamáe/-tamái (yo). Used by male superiors to subordinates and juniors -- and more widely in dialects, where tamáu is used to mean kureru/kudasáru.

(14) Site kure tamáe/tamái. (Less direct than the preceding.)

(15) Site tyoodai (yo [? ʼyo]). (More relaxed than Site itadakimásu, but more polite than Site moraimásu.) Tyoodai suru is a synonym of itadaku; tyoodai functions as the honorific infinitive (with object exaltation only) of morau. Without a gerund it is like kudasái in translating as 'Give me'.

/16.3. Negative requests./ Since negatives are adjectivals, an imperative can not be made from them in colloquial Japanese. Instead, you extend the nuclear (imperfect) sentence with the particle 'na 'don't' (said to be an abbreviation of literary nakáre 'let there not be'):

Yobú na 'Don't call him'. Cf. Yobi na 'Call him'.
Tabéru na 'Don't eat it'. Cf. Tábe na 'Eat it'.
Míru na 'Don't look'. Cf. Mí na 'Look'.

This negative command can be followed by the particle 'yo (just as can the infinitive + na[sái] on the right above): Yobú na yo. Tabéru na yo.

More polite is to make a requested favor negative:

(1) Sinái de kudasai (ne/yo). Sinái de kure.
(2) Sinái de kudasaimásu ka? Sinái de kurerú ka?
(3) Sinái de kudasaimasén ka? Sinái de kurenái/kurén ka?
(4) Sinái de itadakimásu ka? Sinái de morú ka?
(5) Sinái de itadakemásu ka? Sinái de moraerú ka?
(6) Sinái de itadakemasén ka? Sinái de moranái ka?
(7) Sinái de itadakitai/moraitai ('desu). Sinái de hosíi (desu).

Cf. Site moraitaku/hósiku nái 'I don't want to have it done'.

(8) Sinái de (ne/yo).

Or, you can use the form -(a)nai yóo ni + a request form of suru or + tanómu/negáu:

(9) Sinai yóo ni site kudasái. 'Please arrange it so that you don't'.
(10) Sinai yóo ni o-negai simásu. 'I beg you not to'.

There is, of course, some difference of meaning between Matánai yoo ni site kure 'Arrange it so you don't wait' and Mátu yoo ni sinái de kure 'Don't arrange it so you wait'.

Note that you say 'Don't do X, (instead) do Y' this way: X o sinái de, Y o siro (séyo, site kudasái, etc.). For sinái de you can substitute sezu ni (19.6), making it sound a bit more bookish, but not sinákute; cf. 19.2.

/17. Conjunctionalizations./ Any sentence can be conjunctionalized to mean 'and' or 'and so' or 'but' or 'because' etc. in the following several ways. The sentence can be first negativized or stylized (Kore dá kara, Kore désu kara, Kore de gozaimásu kara), though stylization is infrequent except when the sentence is long or is uttered as a fragment (= deliberately incomplete sentence). Stylization is most common with 'ga (in fact almost obligatory if the final sentence is stylized), next most common with 'kedo, and then 'kara, and so on down the list.

/17.1. Sentence + 'kara/'mono./ The particle 'kara (or its colloquial synonym mono) means '... and so' or 'because ...' after imperfect, perfect, or tentative:

Verbal: Yobu. --: Yobú kara 'Because he calls / will call ...'
Yonda. --: Yondá kara 'Because he called ...'
Yobu daróo. --: Yobu daróo kara 'Because he will probably call...'
Negative: Yobanai. --: Yobanai kara 'Because he does/will not call ...'

Adjectival: Ookíi. --: Ookíi kara 'Because it is big ...'
Ookikatta. --: Ookikatta kara 'Because it was big ...' big...'
Ookíi daroo. --: Ookíi daroo kara 'Because it probably is/will be
Negative: Ookiku nái. --: Ookiku nái kara 'Because it isn't big ...'

Nominal: Senséi da. --: Senséi da kara 'Because it is the teacher ...'
Senséi datta. --: Senséi datta kara 'Because it was the teacher...'
Senséi daroo. --: Senséi daroo kara 'Because it is probably the teacher ...'
Negative: Senséi zya nái. --: Senséi zya nái kara 'Because it isn't the teacher ...'

The conjunctionalized sentence with ʔkara can not be deemphasized with wa or reemphasized with mo or sae. It is sometimes emphasized with kóso (Dá kara koso 'Just for that reason') in a semi-literary use equivalent to the more colloquial sa (Dá kara sa). The conjunctionalized sentence can stand as a nominal (i.e. be directly nominalized): Yobú kara da 'It is because he calls / will call'. (And occurrences followed by sentence extensions yo/ne/sa are to be derived from this, with dropped dá.) In this respect ʔkara differs from all other conjunctionalizations, leading us to say that it belongs by class cleavage to two classes: conjunctionalizing particle and postadnominal (§13.2). Note also the (postadnominal) "specification" kara (§2.2) and -té kara (§4.2.3).

A colloquial synonym for ʔkara is the postadnominal tamé (§13.2), which also has the meaning '(for) the sake of'. Proof that tamé is not a conjunctionalizing particle is that (unlike ʔkara) it requires that dá of a nominal sentence change to no: Byooki dá kara = Byooki no tamé. (In the perfect, of course, there is no way to tell: Byooki dátta kara/tamé.)

The expressions ... ʔkara ni 'just because' and ... ʔkara ni wa 'now that, since, as long as (... anyway)' are probably best treated as containing the copula infinitive ní in one of its special uses (§9.1.2).

/17.2. Sentence + to./ The particle to occurs after the imperfect with the meaning 'when(ever)' or 'if'; it also appears after the verbal imperfect with the meaning 'as soon as' (= infinitive + -sídai, §9.1.2). In these several meanings it parallels the deemphasized gerund -té wa (§9.2.2) and the provisional -(r)éba (§9.3):

Yobu.	--:	Yobu to 'When/If/As soon as you call'.
Ookíi.	--:	Ookíi to 'When/If it is big'.
Senséi da.	--:	Senséi da to 'When/If it is the teacher'.

The sentence can first be negativized:

Yobanai.	--:	Yobanai to 'When/If/As soon as you don't call', 'Unless you call'.
Ookiku nái.	--:	Ookiku nái to 'When/If it isn't big', 'Unless it is big'.
Senséi zya nái.	--:	Senséi zya nái to 'When/If it isn't the teacher', 'Unless it is the teacher'.

Occasionally, it is first stylized (§22):

Yobu.	--:	Yobimásu to ...
Ookíi.	--:	Ookíi desu to ...
Senséi da.	--:	Senséi desu to ...
		Senséi de gozaimásu to ...
		Senséi de irassyaimásu to ...

Compare the use of the particle to (= tte) after imperfect, perfect, and tentative to mark a quotation (§21).

/17.3. Sentence + ʔsi./ The particle ʔsi can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative, to mean 'and (also)'. Such a conjunctionalized sentence differs from the gerund in that there is no necessary logical or temporal connection between the two sentences linked with ʔsi.

Yobu.	--:	Yobú si ... 'He calls / will call, and ...'
Yonda.	--:	Yondá si ... 'He called, and ...'
Yobú daróo.	--:	Yobú daróo si ... 'He's likely to call, and ...'
Ookíi.	--:	Ookíi si ... 'It's big and ...'
Ookikatta.	--:	Ookikatta si ... 'It was big and ...'
Ookíi daroo.	--:	Ookíi daroo si ... 'It must be big and ...'
Senséi da.	--:	Senséi da si ... 'It's the teacher and ...'
Senséi datta.	--:	Senséi datta si ... 'It was the teacher and ...'
Senséi daroo.	--:	Senséi daroo si ... 'It must be the teacher and ...'

The sentence can first be negativized (Yobanái si, Ookiku nái si, Senséi zya nái si) or stylized (Yobimásu si, Ookíi desu si, Senséi desu si) -- or, of course, both: Yobimasén si, Ookiku arimasén (desíta) si, Senséi zya arimasén (deszyo) si, etc.

In some cases, where the 'also' sentence is omitted, the sentence with ʻsi implies reason or cause: Boku daké zya nái daroo si (hóka no hitó mo otitá n da kara) daizyóobu desu yo 'It's OK -- I'm not the only one (who failed)'. Minna sóo daroo si (anáta soo sité mo) daizyóobu desu 'It's OK -- everybody will be like that (so you can do that too)'. With the second sentence unsuppressed, of course, reason or cause can is still be implied: Kyuuzitu dá si, ténki da si, Yamada ga kúru daroo 'It's a holiday, the weather's nice -- Yamada will come, I think'. Yó mo aketá si, háreta si, syuppatu suru to siyóo ka 'Dawn has come, the sky is clear; shall we start to make our departure?'

/17.4. Sentence + ʻke(re)do/ʻmono-no/ʻmonó-o./ The particle ʻke(re)do can be added to imperfect, perfect, or tentative of any sentence, and it is often reinforced with the particle mo (ʻkedo mo, ʻkeredo mo); it can also be followed by ne or ga. The sentence can first be negativized, stylized, etc. There are two meanings: The first is somewhat similar to that of ʻno ni (§14.2.2 'despite') 'however, but': Kareda ga tiisái kedo tikara wa tuyói 'He is small in body but mighty in strength'. Cf. to itté mo (§21), tte (§15.11). Old-fashioned synonyms are [educated colloquial] ʻmono-no and [written style] ʻmonó-o. The other meanings is 'and also': Undoo mo surú kedo benkyoo mo suru 'He does sports but/and also studies'. This is similar to the use of ʻsi and also of provisional -(r)éba (Undoo mo suréba, benkyoo mo suru §9.3). But joined sentences linked by ʻsi are generally reversible (Áme mo húru si kaze mo hukú 'It rains and the wind blows' = Kaze mo hukú si áme mo húru 'The wind blows and it rains') with little change in flavor, where those with ʻkedo often imply surprise at the second sentence in view of the first. Cf. Ké(re)do (mo) as a sentence-introducer (§24), perhaps best regarded as an abbreviation of (Sóo da --:) Dá kedo ... .

/17.5. Sentence + ʻga./ The particle ʻga can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative of any sentence with the meaning 'but, and (yet)', showing a weak contrast; it can be followed by ne, but instead of ... ʻga sa the usual form is ... ʻkedo sa. The sentence can be (and often is) stylized first; it can also be negativized, etc. In addition to the 'but' meaning (Samúi ga gáman siyoo 'It's cold but we'll have to put up with it') we also find the meaning 'and also': Aná mo kírei da ga niói mo yói 'The flowers are pretty and also fragrant'. Often sentences are left dangling with ʻga ... as a deferential fragment (§23); this is especially common with deliberatives, round-about requests, and the like.

/17.6. Literary tentative + ʻga./ The literary tentative (§12.3) consists of the propositive ending added to all verbs (kakóo instead of kákú daroo, aróo instead of áru daroo), and the abbreviation -karóo (:-- -ku aróo) for adjectives: samukaróo instead of samúi daroo, nakaróo instead of nái daroo. The verb negative is -(r)u mái (also -mái after vowel bases) rather than -(a)nái daróo; the adjective negative is -ku nakaróo rather than -ku nái daroo; the copula negative is dé wa nakaróo rather than zya nái daroo.

Contrasting sentences in the literary tentative appear with the particle ʻga following each to mean 'whether ... or ...': A daróo ga B daróo ga (kamawánai) '(It matters not) whether it is A or B'. The meaning is much the same as that of -tá mo: A dá mo B dá mo (kamawánai). Here are some more examples: Onazi daróo ga tigaóo ga 'Whether the same or different'. Komaróo ga komaru nái ga 'Whether embarrassed or not'. Kamaóo ga kamau nái ga 'Whether it makes a difference or not'. Samukaróo ga atukaróo ga 'Whether cold or hot'. Ikóo ga iku mái ga 'Whether I go or not'. Koyóo ga komái [or kumái, kuru mái] ga 'Whether he comes or not',. Tabeyóo ga tabemái [preferred to taberu mái in this construction] ga 'Whether we eat or not' (= colloquial Tabéru daróo ga, tabenái daróo ga ...).

Instead of ʻga the quotative particle to can be used in these expressions; see §21.5.

/17.7. Literary tentative + ʻni./ There are several uses of -(y)óo ni:
(1) 'of all ...' [? limited to aróo and daróo]: Basyo mo aróo ni watasi o anna tokoró e turete itta 'He took me to such a place of all places'. Hito mo aróo ni kimi ga sonna kotó o ioo tó wa! 'To think that you, of all persons, should say so'. Yamada wa kotó mo aróo ni Isa no sóba ni tikayótte kitá 'Yamada, of all things, approached Isa'.
(2) + mo 'despite an effort/desire to': Nínpu o tanomóo ni mo ... kité kureru hitó ga nái 'Try as we would, we couldn't get a coolie'. Sakebi-góe o ageyóo ni mo ... kóe ga dénakatta 'Try to yell as he would, he could not find his voice'. Sore o taizi site yaróo ni mo dóo sitára íi ka kentoo ga tukanai 'However much I want to eliminate them I can't figure out how to do it'. Ikóo ni mo ikenai 'Go though I would, I can't'. Soo siyóo ni mo okane ga nái 'There isn't the money to do it'.

These uses are perhaps best regarded as abbreviations from *-(y)óo no ni with the postadnominal (nominalizer) ʻno used in the infinitive (ʻno da --: ʻno ni) with the meaning 'despite' (§14.2.2), so that the colloquial analogs would be Basyo mo áru (hazu na) no ni, Nínpu o tanómu (hazu na) no ni, etc. Perhaps the translation of Type 2 should be 'despite the need to'; cf. colloquial -(r)ú no da 'it (is a matter that) calls for'. [But the colloquial translation suggested as better is to omótte/sité mo: Soo siyóo ni mo okane ga nái 'I'd like to do it but I lack the money'.] Some other examples: Konna kotó wa okorénakatta desyoo ni ... (= okorénakatta hazu na no ni) 'Such a thing shouldn't have happened but ...' . Dékita n daroo ní naa ... 'Ought to have been able to do it but ...' (Cf. Ishigaki 40.)

/17.8. Sentence + ʻnara(ba)./ We might consider sentence + ʻnara(ba) 'if (it's a case of)' as still another kind of conjunctionalization, but I think it is better treated as just an optional dropping of ʻno in the nominalization of §14.2: Yobú nara(ba) :-- Yobú no nara(ba) 'If you are calling' (:-- Yobú no da). It sometimes differs from other 'ifs' [-(r)éba, -tára] in anticipating a specific instance by a general case: Mádo o ákeru nara, kore o akete kudasái 'If you're going to open a window, open this one'. The sentence can be imperfect, perfect, or tentative: Mósi, bokú-tati no utí ni kono kínco no katudoo ga tyuusi site simattá naraba ... 'If the action of this process should stop inside of us ...' [EXAMPLE OF TENTATIVE?]

/18. Hearsay-reporting./ Any sentence (perfect, imperfect, tentative) can be reported as hearsay 'I hear (= They say) that ...'. The sentence is directly followed by sóo da:
Yobu sóo da 'They say he calls / will call'.
Yonda sóo da 'They say he called'.
Yobú daroo soo da 'They say he probably calls / will call'.
Yonda daróo soo da 'They say he probably called'.
Ookíi soo da 'They say it is big'. (etc. etc.)
Senséi da soo da 'They say it/he is a teacher'.
Senséi datta soo da 'They say it/he was a teacher'.
Sensei nó da soo da 'They say it is the teacher's'. (etc. etc.)
The sentence, cannot, of course, be extended into a question or the like before being reported (though the report itself can be questioned); nor can a command or proposition be reported as hearsay.

Instead of sóo da you can add (from quotation, §21) to iu hanasí da, tó no kotó da, to iu kotó da, tó ka (§21.6), tte, or to. The new sentences can all be extended with particles like sa/yo/ʻwa/ne/ ... (§15). There seems to be some doubt about ʻka: Sóo da soo desu ka 'Do they say it is like that?' is accepted in polite form, but (?) rejected in plain form (*)Sóo da soo ka. On the other hand, Sóo da to no kotó (desu) ka is accepted either way. There is no *(désu) tte ka or *(désu) to ka. Apparently most of the other sentence transforms are permissible with the new ... sóo da sentences: ... sóo de mo/wa (§9.2.2, §5); ... sóo na no de/ni (§14.2); ... sóo da kara/to/si/keđo/ga, ... sóo nara(ba) (§17); ... ; but not *... sóo ni tigai nái (§14.6.1), *... sóo ni sugúnai (§14.62) [? and other cases involving direct nominalization, §14.6]; and adnominalization is unusual (? impossible -- *...sóo na hazu da).

In writing you sometimes see the semi-literary equivalent of hearsay-reporting: [adnominalized sentence +] yósi da. Yósi 'report' is here used as a postadnominal (§13.2); ... to iu mmé da is used in a similar meaning 'it is to the effect that'.

/19. The semblative (rasii)./ A perfect, tentative, or imperfect sentence of any origin can have rasíi (or rasíi) added to produce the meaning 'it seems that'; the copula dá drops in nominal sentences:

Yobu rasíi 'It seems that he calls / will call'.
Ookíi rasii (or Ookii rasíi) 'It seems that it is big'.
Senséi rasii (or Sensei rasíi) 'It seems to be the teacher'.
Génki rasii (or Genki rasíi) 'He seems to be healthy'.
Gakusei nó rasii (or Gakusei no rasíi) 'It seems to be the student's'.

The sentence can be perfect: Yonda rasíi 'It seems that he has called'; Ookikatta rasii (or Ookikatta rasíi) 'It seems that it was big'; Senséi datta rasii (or Sensei datta rasíi) 'It seems that it was the teacher', etc. Or, the semblative can be made perfect: Yobu rásikatta 'It seemed that he called / would call'; Ookíi rasikatta (or Ookii rásikatta) 'It seemed to be big', Senséi rasikatta (or Sensei rásikatta) 'It seemed to be the teacher'. Or, again, both sentences can be made perfect: Yonda rásikatta 'It seemed that he had called'; Ookikatta rasikatta (or Ookikatta rásikatta) 'It seemed that it had been big', Senséi datta rasikatta (or Sensei datta rásikatta) 'It seemed that it had been the teacher', etc. Negatives can be made of either or both: Yobanai rasíi 'It seems that he does/will not call'; Yobanai rásiku nái 'It doesn't seem that he does/will not call',etc. And all combinations of perfect and negative seem to be possible, e.g. Yobanákatta rasii (or Yobanakatta rasíi) 'He seems to have not called'; Yobanákatta rasiku nákatta (or Yobanakatta rásiku nákatta) 'It did not seem that he had not called (= There was no evidence that he had not called)'.

The semblative sentences can be transformed like other adjectival sentences, but adnominalization seems to be somewhat limited (perhaps to only a few of the postadnominals? -- TO BE CHECKED), and *... rasíi ni tigai nái is rejected (though ... rasíi ni sugíngi is accepted). We accept both semblative + hearsay (Áme ga fúru rasii soo da [or ... furu rasíi soo da] 'I hear it seems to be raining') and hearsay + semblative (Áme ga fúru soo rasii 'It seems they say it's raining').

From the semblative of nominals are derived a number of adjectives with the meaning 'is suitable to be, is worthy of, is very like': gakusei-rasíi taido 'an attitude worthy of (suitable to) a student, a student-like attitude', onna-rasíi 'is womanly, feminine', kodomo-rasíi 'is child-like', otoko-rasíi 'is masculine, manly', baka-rasíi 'is foolish, stupid'. These adjectives are subject to the evidential (§20): -rási-soo da, -rási-ge da 'seems suitable to be'. And they form derived nouns with -sa (Pt III, §____): otoko-rási-sa 'manliness'. Note that semblative rasíi has either normal tonic accent (dropping, as expected, when attached to a tonic word) or dominant accent (overriding a preceding accent), but derived-adjective -rasíi is always dominant so that a distinction is heard (optionally) for tonic nouns: /senséerasii/ can mean only 'It seems to be the teacher' (= Senséi rasii), but /senseerasíi/ can mean either that (= Sensei rasíi) or 'He is suitable to be a teacher (etc.)' (= Sensei-rasíi). For /gakuseerasíi/ there is no disambiguating pronunciation for the semblative, since gakusei 'student' is atonic. [Regardless of the accent treatment, (-)rasii is attached without juncture to the preceding phonological word, both as semblative and as semblative-derived adjective.]

There are also some adjectives that attach -rasíi directly to the base: Kitana-rasíi 'It is dirty-looking' [Cf. Kitanai rasíi (or Kitanái rasii) 'It seems to be dirty']; Kawai-rasíi 'It is charming-looking' [Cf. Kawaíi rasíi (or Kawaíi rasii) 'It seems to be charming']; Niku-rasíi 'It is hateful-looking' [Cf. Nikui rasíi (or Nikúi rasii) 'It seems to be hateful' -- and contrast the homonymous Niku rasíi (or Nikú rasii) 'It seems to be meat', Niku-rasíi 'It is worthy (= real) meat'].

[ARE THERE INFINITIVES -- VERBAL OR ADJECTIVAL -- THAT ATTACH -rasíi?]

The meaning of the semblative is very close to that of adnominal + yóo da (or yóo ni miéru) and its colloquial synonym mítai da, §13.2. Sometimes the semblative is used in a meaning very close to that of hearsay (sóo da), other times it seems closer to the evidential (-yóo da).

20. The evidential (-soo/-ge da). It is possible to make some sentences into evidentials meaning 'looks to be/do', by adding -soo da (or, more old-fashioned and less widely heard, -ge da) to: the infinitive of verbals, the base of some (all?) adjectives, and some but not all adjectival nouns [see the classes of adjectival nouns in §___]:

Yobi-soo da 'He seems to be calling / be going to call'.
Waru-sóo da 'It looks bad'.
Genki-sóo da 'He looks lively/healthy'.

Tonic bases produce tonic evidentials (with the accent on -sóo/-gé), atonic bases produce atonic evidentials. (And the accent optionally drops from -gé.)

The resulting sentence can be made perfect (Yobi-soo dátta), tentative (Yobi-soo daróo), and perfect tentative (Yobi-soo dátta daroo). It can be adnominalized as itself an adjectival noun (Yobi-soo na hitó) but capable of carrying with it any build-up: Áme ga huri-sóo na hí 'a day when it looks like rain'. The evidential sentence can be turned into a gerund -soo dé (wa/mo), infinitive -soo ni (náru/sanu,suru,) and -soo de (see áreba), provisional -soo nára(ba), conditional -soo dáttara, and alternative -soo dáttari. It can be extended with ka, ne, ka shira, ka mo shirenai, etc. It can be made semblative -soo rasíi (somewhat pleonastically); -soo ni sugínai occurs but *-soo ni tigai náí is doubtful, though some accept Genki-sóo ni tigai náí 'You can't say he doesn't look healthy'. (Also accepted: Atira wa áme ga huri-sóo ni tigai náí, as an abbreviation of ...-soo ni miéru ni tigai náí.) Evidentials can be made negative, usually in these forms: -soo mo nai, -soo ní wa/mo náí, or -soo ní wa/mo miénai (cf. remarks in §8). The negative infinitives -soo náku and -ge náku are common. Evidentials made on semblatives are rejected (*Áme ga húru rasi-soo da), though semblatives are permitted on evidentials (Áme ga huri-soo rasíi [or huri-sóo rasii] 'It seems to be looking like rain').

Among adjectivals that can be made evidential are the facilitatives (§9.1.8): Si-niku-sóo da 'It looks difficult to do'. Desideratives appeared to be excluded (*Iki-ta-soo da) unless verbalized (§7.2): Iki-ta-gari-soo da (or Iki-ta-gari-sóo da) 'He looks as though he wants to go'.

The adjectives (Ii =) Yóí 'It is good' and Náí 'It is non-existent' (negative of Áru) irregularly attach -sa- before adding -soo: Yosa-sóo da 'It looks good'. Nasa-sóo da 'It looks missing'. (The pseudo-literary form Nakari-sóo da [abbreviated from Náku ari-sóo da] is sometimes written; cf. Mio 140.) Contrast the excessive forms (§9.1.9): Yo-sugíru, Nasa-sugíru. Apparently evidentials can be made on verbal sentences that are negativized; Mio 141 gives the example ... kité i-na-soo ne yoosu o míru to ... 'When I saw that it appeared he had not arrived ...' Mio says it is usual not to insert -sa- with negativized verbals turned into evidentials or excessives (iwa-na-sugíru 'too seldom says'), but many speakers optionally insert -sa- in these two situations too: iwa-nasa-sugíru, kité i-nasa-soo na yoosu.

Other adjectives ending in -nai, whether clearly derived from negatives (nasake-nái 'heartless', tayori-nái 'helpless', darasi-nái 'slovenly', mottai-nái 'undeserved'; tumránai 'worthless') or not (kitanái 'dirty', ...) are sometimes heard with the inserted -ga- before -soo da, but we will go along with Mio (141) in rejecting these as ungrammatical.

Speakers who do not normally use the old-fashioned -ge and prefer Natukasi-sóo da to Natukasi-gé da 'It is nostalgic-looking', may still have traces of the form in clichés like the derive adjectival nouns koto-no-náge (na) '(is) nonchalant' and hito-no-náge (na) '?(is) unembarrassed'. Ishigaki 57 gives examples of imi-arí-ge (na) '(is) meaningful-seeming, pregnant (with meaning)' and kimari-warí-ge (na) '(is) awkward-looking'.

/21. Quotations./ Any sentence can be quoted by adding the particle to '(says/thinks) that'. The quoted statement is usually followed by a verb of saying, thinking, or the like: iu 'says', omóu 'thinks, feels', kangáeru 'thinks, opines', siru 'finds out, knows', wakáru 'understands', yobu 'calls', sinpai suru 'worries (that)', miru 'sees (that)', kiku 'hears/asks (that)', omóeru 'it is thought that', kangaerareru 'it is thought that', kanzirareru 'it is felt that', nagamerareru 'it is viewed that', mitomerareru 'it is recognized that', etc. The sentence can be negative, declarative, etc., it can be perfect, tentative, etc.; the verb of saying/thinking to which the quotation is adnominalized can undergo all transforms independently of the quoted sentence. E.g.: Yobu to iu. Yonda to iu. Yobenai to iu. Yobanai daróo to iwánakatta. Ookikatta daroo to iwarenákatta. etc. etc.

Sentences can be quoted directly, but it is usual to make the quotation indirect, with appropriate switches in deictic reference, such as pronouns, honorifics, locations, etc. Questions as well as statements can be quoted both directly and indirectly: Yobú ka to iu. Ookí ka to iu. Dóre datta ka to iu. The verb of saying is likely to be kiku 'asks', especially if the question is quoted indirectly.

Commands can be quoted directly (though the English translation is often indirect): Iriq-take tukae to iú no de wa nái 'It's not a case of telling you to use all there are'. There is a special way to quote a command indirectly: V-(r)u yóo ni (to) + verb of saying (iu etc.). The quoted command can be affirmative or negative: Kúru/Kónai yoo ni to itta 'He told us to come/not come'. Strictly speaking this indirect command quotation is perhaps to be taken as a transform of the imperative (-e etc., §16.1), but it can also be regarded as a normal optional transform from the circumlocutions involving favors, though it is not at all unusual for the favor wording to be retained in a quotation: -te yaru/ageru yóo ni (to) iu. Note that the "in-giving" and "out-giving" often has to be reversed in keeping with the deictic switching appropriate to indirect quotation. It is especially common to quote desideratives (Ikitai to omóu 'I think I'd like to go'), auto-suggestions (Ikoo to omóu 'I think I'll go'), and tentatives (Ikú daroo to omóu 'I think he'll go'); cf. §21.5. For a seeming quotation of the conditional, -tara (íi) to omóu, see §9.4.

The quotation can be deemphasized: ... tó wa (iwanákatta). It can be reemphasized: ... tó mo (iu), ... tó sae (iéba). And it can be nominalized ... tó ía and then adnominalized to kotó in ... tó no kotó da; both these expressions are synonyms of the hearsay report ... sóo da 'They say that ...; I hear tell that ...', §18.

A colloquial synonym of to is tte; a less colloquial form is tote.

See §15.11, §21.3.

/21.1. Special uses of quotations./ Quotations have a number of special uses that call for comment. In addition to those given separate attention in the following sections, we can cite also these:

(1) In identifying a thing (place, or person) by name, designation, or the like, a Japanese uses the form A to iu X da 'It is the X which we call A': Séga to iu matí 'the city of Saga', Tanaka Tároo to iu hitó 'a man named Tanaka Taroo'. From this, we get the expression Nán to iu ími desu ka 'What meaning is it? = What does it mean?' Compare koo-iu, soo-iu, aa-iu, and dóo-iu [sometimes -itta replaces -iu] -- the synonyms of konna, sonna, anna, and dónna as adnominals (¶13.__). N to iu mono wa 'As for the thing we call N' often means just '(As for) N'. Kore to iu (mono) means '(a thing) in particular, to speak of, worth mentioning': Kore to iu hón ga nái 'I have no book(s) to speak of'. Note also Nán to iu íi o-ténki desu ne 'What nice weather it is!'and similar interjectional uses of nán to iu to mean 'what a ...!'.

For some of these appositional uses, the perfect itta can replace iu. See the discussion of other forms of apposition, ¶25.

(2) With náru (and similar verbs of "becoming") and with kimeru 'decides' (etc.?), to is virtually equivalent to ni: Kóto-ni kookuu-syóokoo to náru to 'Especially when one gets to be an airforce officer ...' (Ishigaki 35). Sometimes ...to náru translates as 'it amounts to ...', sometimes as 'when it comes to (the situation of)...': Kane o uke-totta to náru to, súbete wa hyoohen sita 'When he had received the money, everything took on a new look'. ... sono búraku ni iku to náru to ... 'If you go to the villages there ...' (Ishigaki 38).

(3) Similar to the preceding is ... to kitéra 'When it comes to ..., As to ...' (virtually equivalent to wa 'as for'): Tanaka-san to kitéra syottyuu asónde bakari irú n da kara ... 'When it comes to Tanaka, he's always loafing, so ...'

(4) With quantity words (especially of time and distance) followed by a negative, to is sometimes equivalent to hodo: Hyaku-méetoru to ikanai uti ni 'Before we had gone a hundred meters'. San-pun to kakaránakatta 'It didn't take three minutes'. (Cf. Ishigaki 35).

(5) Quotations are sometimes used to emphasize DIRECTION or MANNER, e.g.: Atti kotti to urotuku 'wanders around here and there'. Uti no hóo e to orite itta 'He went down toward home'. Uteki (= Amadare) ga usiro kara usiro kara to suberi-otite iru 'The raindrops keep sliding down from behind' (note the adverbial iteration to show persistence). These might perhaps be regarded as abbreviations of to ooóttte or to site; compare Ishigaki 38.

(6) With miéru 'it seems' (etc.?) we find quotation used to show appearance: Nihon-zín to wa miénai 'He doesn't look like a Japanese'. Note the derivation N da to omowareru --: N ni omowareru (etc.), ¶9.1.11.

(7) The somewhat literary expression ... tó mo tukánai means something like 'not quite arriving at, not quite making it': áse to mo aká to mo tukánai niói 'a smell that was a cross between sweat and dirt', ryoodán to mo honki tó mo tukazu 'half joking and half serious'. Although common in pairs, an occasional example occurs alone: umeki to mo tukámu (= tukánai) kotobá o 'in words that were not quite a groan' (Ishigaki 35).

(8) The expression (negative +) ... tó mo kagiránai means something like 'who knows (can tell) but what': Sonna kotó ga nái to mo kagiránai 'Such a thing might happen'. Compare ... ni kagíru (¶14.6) and ... tó wa kagiránai 'it does not necessarily follow that': Kanemotí kanarazú-simo kookuku tó wa kagiránai [example from Kenkyusha] = Kanemotí ga kanarazú-simo kookuku dá to wa kagiránai 'The rich man is not always (necessarily) happy'.

(9) A somewhat formal equivalent of gerund + mo is quotation + mo: V-(r)u tó mo [literary V-i tó mo] = -té mo, A-i tó mo or A-ku tó mo = -kuté mo, N tó mo = N dé mo [literary N nári to mo]. This raises the intersting historical question: could the gerund have developed out of a quoted infinitive? Here are some examples: Inóti ni kakawáru to mo 'Even at the cost of one's life'. Osoku tó mo 'At the latest', Sukúnaku to mo 'At the least', Óoku to mo 'at most'. Tasyoo tó mo 'Some at least'. Kónaku to mo yoroSii = Kónakute mo íi 'You need not come'. Ituka yóri okureru kotó wa áru to mo háyaku wa nái daroo 'It may be later than the 5th but not earlier'. With interrogative-indefinites we find that literary tentative + tó mo is equivalent to -té mo: Dóko e ikoo tó mo = Dóko e ittté mo 'Wherever one goes' (cf. ¶21.5).

We might want to regard this usage as an abbreviation of ... to ittté mo, since that fuller expression is sometimes used as a purely grammatical device ('however'), as are to iéba and to ittára 'speaking of' (cf. ¶21.2).

(10) The expression tó wa can be regarded as an abbreviation of to iú no wa in such sentences as Tomodati tó wa dáre no kotó ka 'By "a friend", just whom do you mean?' and Anó hito wa kóndo no syatyoo tó wa! 'To think that he will be our new president!'

(11) A number of well-worn clichés that are used as sentence-openers come from abbreviated quotations: To iú no wa ... 'And that's because ...', To iu wáke de mo nái ga ... 'Not exactly that ...', Tó wa mata dóo-site 'Why do you say that?', Tó mo suréba (Tó mo suru to) 'Sometimes ..., Yet ...' (cf. ¶21.4). And a number come from unabbreviated quotations, as well: Dótira ka to iéba, Dótira ka to iu to 'If anything, rather ...', Nán to ittté mo 'Say what you will; anyway' [cf. Dóko made ittté mo 'Go where you will' = 'Everywhere (you go)'], Sore wa soo to (site) 'Be that as it may ...; By the way ...' We find quotation a purely grammatical device in Dá kara t(o)te (Dá kara to itte) 'Just because of that ...'. Similar are other "saying" expressions that do not contain quotations as such: Soo iéba 'If you put it that way ..., Oh yes ...', Iú made mo nái ga 'It goes without saying that ...' .

(12) The expression ... tó mo náku means '(does it) unawares, without knowing it' or "without intending (premeditating) it, casually, offhandedly': Kúru to mo náku kité simatta 'I didn't mean to come, but just happened to'.
[MORE EXAMPLES HERE]

(13) The nominal expression ... to mo aróo monó (with literary tentative of áru adnominalized to monó 'person') means 'a man of the status (caliber) of ..'.
[Examples in Kenkyusha.]

(14) Tó mo (¶15.14) is used as a sentence-final extension to mean 'of course' or 'indeed'. This could be regarded as an abbreviation of some quotation, perhaps with ... omóeru or ... ieru for the "deleted" verb.

/21.1. Ttéra, ttéba./ Quotation is a common way to mention a topic for comment, functioning somewhat like wa in this respect: X to ittára (iéba, iu to, itté wa) 'When it comes to X, As for X'. From this come the colloquial particles ttára and ttéba: Kore ttára/ttéba 'When it comes to this, As for this'. The particle ttéba is used almost exclusively by women. Because of the indirection, this sort of topic citation is fairly polite. Hence you hear: Anáta ttara/tteba and (from women) Watasi ttára/ttéba but (?) not *Boku ttára/ttéba, *Kimi ttára/ttéba.

Sentence-final ttéba (¶15.15) can mean two things: (1) 'I tell you', a strong statement: Iyá da tteba! = Iyá da yo! 'But I don't like it!' (2) = (naszái) yo, a command: Boku ga koosyoo site yarú kara moo sibáraku o-mati ttéba '(I tell you) I'll negotiate for you so you wait a little longer'.

Sentence-final ttára can mean the same two things, but with stronger feeling: Iyá da ttara! 'But I DON'T LIKE it!' Káesite, káesite, káesite ttara!! 'You gimme that back!'

The first t of these colloquial particles (= q) drops after n, like that of tte: Súgata-san ttara /súgatasantara/.

/21.3. To(te) / Tte./ The particle to (sometimes extended to tote) can occur at the end of a phrase as if an abbreviation of ... to omótte 'thinking that ...', followed by some verb of action or the like. A special use of tote (not shared by to) is after the perfect -ta to mean 'even doing': -ta tote = -te mo. But more colloquial is to attach -ta ttw to verbals, -kuta tte to adjectivals, and da(tta) tte to nominals. Cf. ¶15.11.

/21.4. Sentence + to suru./ Any statement can be followed by to suru to mean 'supposes that, considers it that, treats it as (true that)': Yobu/Yonda to suru. Ookí to suru. Senséi da to suru. etc.

From the gerund of this expression we get X (dé) to site ('wa) 'considering it to be X, considered as X'.

We can regard sentences with to suru as(periphrastic)PUTATIVES in direct contrast with ni suruu, the periphrastic CAUSATIVES (¶9.1.11). [Cf. ... no o tanosimi ni site iru 'Is enjoying ...-ing'.]

Special cases of the putative are these:

(1) Propositive -(y)oo + to suru/tutomeru/kimeru/kuwadateru/kétui suru 'decides (plans) to do'. Masa ni ... siyoo to suru 'is about to (begin), is going to (do), etc.' Cf. -(y)oo to iu toki ni 'When ready (about, fixing) to do'. [MORE EXAMPLES HERE; cf. Ishigaki 38.]

The translation of -(y)oo to suru is often 'tries (goes) to do', especially when followed by some frustration or interruption (Tegami o kakóo to sita tokoró e denwa ga kakátte kitá 'Just as I was going to write a letter (or trying to write a letter) a phonecall came'.

(2) Perfect -ta + to surúba = -tá no dé wa (¶9.3) 'if (say) one should': [EXAMPLES HERE]

Compare Senséi to sité wa doosi dekínai 'The teacher (in his role as teacher, qua teacher) cannot agree' with Senséi ni sité wa tísiki ga sukunái 'For a teacher, he is singularly lacking in knowledge'. Neither putative (to suru) nor causative (ni suru) are to be taken literally here. Compare ... ni sité mo 'even if/though, allowing/granting that...'

/21.5. Literary tentative + to./ The literary tentative (§12.3) + to occurs in contrasting pairs with the same meaning as the literary tentative + ga (§17.6) 'whether ... or': Anáta wa ikoo to iku nái to sore wa kamawánai (boku wa ikitái n desu) [= ... itté mo, ikanákute mo ...] 'It makes no difference whether you go or not (I want to go anyway)'. Kimi ga ikitakaróo to dóo daroo to boku wa kamawánnai 'It makes no difference to me whether you want to go or not'. Kore daróo to kore zya nakaróo to kamawánai = Kore dé mo kore de nákute mo kamawánai 'It doesn't make any difference whether it is this or not'. Kore daróo to are daróo to kamawánai 'It doesn't matter whether it is this or that'. O-kane ga aróo to nakaróo to (= átte mo nákute mo) kaitai monó wa kaitái n desu 'Whether I have the money or not, what I want to buy I want to buy'. Although this is most common for such adjectivals as nái, sukunái, and desideratives (-tai), occasionally other adjectives are heard (Cokikaróo to tiisakaróo to ...). Sometimes there is only one -oo to, equivalent to -té mo: Dóko e ikoo to kimi no katte da 'It's up to you where you go'. Dóo siyoo to ii de wa nái ka 'Isn't there any way that it's all right?' Nakoo to waraoo to kamáu mon(o) ka? Dóo naróo to kamawánai. 'Should it matter whether I cry or laugh? It makes no difference what I do'. A somewhat similar use is -(y)oo + nái mo; see §17.7.

Note that -(y)oo to is sometimes followed by mo: Dóko e ikoo tó mo = Dóko e itté mo 'Wherever you go' = 'Everywhere (you go)'. Compare the optional absence of mo in statements of permission: Itté (mo) íi 'You may go' (§9.2.2).

/21.6. Tó ka./ The particle string tó ka can be added at the end of a sentence to make a vague synonym of the hearsay transform: Byoóki ni síte iru tó ka = Byoóki site iru sóo da 'I hear he's ill (or something)'. It can also be tacked on to a noun to add vagueness to the quote: Tanaka tó ka iu hitó 'a man called Tanaka or something'. It is sometimes used in citing a list: A tó ka B tó ka C 'A and B and C'. The meaning of N tó ka is sometimes close to that of N dé mo 'N or the like': Kí to ka, kusá to ka, teatari-sídai (ni) tabéru 'eats plants or grasses, or whatever is at hand'. From this usage, the sentence-opener Nán to ka (site) 'Somehow or other, Anyhow...' is derived.

/21.7. Adverbial, interjectional, and mimetic quotations./ From the use of quotation to show manner, we find a number of adverbs which occur only in the quoted form: sésse-to 'frequently, diligently', wariq-to = wariai-ni 'relatively', akaŝka-to 'brightly', ...

In addition, there are four special classes of interjectional and mimetic quotations that call for comment:

(1) Those quoted with to iu, in which the interjection also occurs unquoted; the interjection ends in glottal catch, pronounced as /'t/ in -q to iu.

aq (to iu) 'Oh!'
kyaq (to iu) 'Oh how suprising (or frightening)!'
waq (to iu) 'Boo!'
waaq (to iu) 'Oh how nice! Goody-goody!'

(2) Those that do not normally occur except quoted with suru/náru; they end in a glottal catch: -q to suru/náru 'makes with a "..." effect'.

muq to suru/náru 'acts/gets indignant, miffed;seems/gets stuffy, close'
haq to suru/náru 'acts/gets startled, [illegible] taken aback'
gyoq to suru/náru 'acts/gets startled, frightened'
hoq to suru/náru 'acts/gets relieved'

(3) Those that only occur adverbially with -q to /tto/ or with -n to.
zuq to 'all the way; directly; considerably'
tyóq to 'a little bit; please; say!'
móq to 'more' (from mo 'more')
guq to 'suddenly, with a jerk; tightly; considerably'
kiq to 'surely, I bet'
ziq to 'steadily, intently; quietly, patiently'
yaq to 'at last, with much difficulty'
sáq to 'suddenly'
zaq to 'roughly; sketchily'

ón to 'with great force; copiously'
tyan to 'perfectly, regularly, neatly,safely, comme-il-faut'
kitín to 'accurately, punctually, neatly'

(4) Other mimetic words (see Pt III, §____) that can occur as adverbs alone and also with to (suru/náru):
boñyari, boñyari (to) suru 'absent-minded, vague'
haqkíri, haqkíri (to) suru 'clear, precise'
etc. etc. [See Japanese Morphophonemics for -q-ri, -n-ri forms]

/22. Stylizations./ Sentences can be "stylized" in two ways, to show respect (POLITE STYLE) or deference (HONORIFIC STYLE) toward the person to whom the sentence is spoken. Note that I am using "honorific" in a somewhat restricted, technical sense; what I have called SUBJECT EXALTATION (§6.1) is sometimes called "honorific speech", and what I have called OBJECT EXALTATION (§6.2) is sometimes called "humble" speech.

Use of the honorific style is somewhat like the insertion of "sir" in American prep-school speech; if overdone, it sounds unnatural. If you make one sentence out of three honorific, letting the other two be just polite, the discourse sounds deferential as a whole. Polite stylization is usually sentence-final or before conjunctionalization, direct quotation, or particle extension (such as question ka). Adnominalized (-másu ñ da) and adverbialized (-másite, -másitara, -másitari, -máseba/-masúreba) polite sentences sound more deferential than the usual polite style and are not too common, except when used as a sentence fragments: Arimásitara née 'If I only had some, you see'.

/22.1. Polite stylization./ Polite stylization is typically produced by attaching the bound auxiliary -másu to the infinitive of verbals, by attaching -desu to adjectivals, and by changing dá to désu after nominals. An alternative to -másu is attaching 'desu to the verbal imperfect: Yobú desu = Yobimásu. (This form seems to be gaining popularity among younger-generation Tokyo speakers.) The negative is traditionally built on the polite form (Yobu --: Yobimásu --: Yobimasén) but it is increasingly popular to reverse the order of the processes (Yobu --: Yobanai --: Yobanái desu); similarly, the perfect is traditionally built on the polite (Yobu --: Yobimásu --: Yobimásita) but the reversed order is increasingly popular (Yobu --: Yonda --: Yondá desu), especially for adjectivals, and some speakers would reject Ookíi desita entirely, in favor of Ookikatta desu. The forms with verbal/adjectival + desu are often considered to be abbreviations of verbal/adjectival + no desu (§14.2); this may be the historical origin, but synchronically the two should be kept distinct.

Because of the several possibilities in the same category, it seems best to give paradigms somewhat as follows:

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
IMPERFECT	Yobimásu. / Yobú desu. Ookíi desu. Hón desu.	Yobimasén. / Yobanái desu. Ookiku arimasén. / Ookiku nái desu. Hón zya arimasén. / Hón zya nái desu.
PERFECT	Yobimásita. / Yondá desu. Ookíi desita./Ookikatta desu. Hón desita.	Yobimasén desita. / Yobanákatta desu. Ookiku arimasén desita./Ookiku nakatta desu. Hón zya arimasén desita. / Hón zya nakatta desu.
TENTATIVE	Yobimásu desyoo. / Yobú desyoo. Ookíi desyoo. Hón desyoo.	Yobimasén desyoo. / Yobanái desyoo. / Yobimasu mái. Ookiku arimasén desyoo. / Ookiku nái desyoo. / Ookiku arimasu mái. Hón zya arimasén desyoo. / Hón zya nái desyoo. / Hón zya arimasu mái.
PERF.TENT.	Yobimásita desyoo. / Yondá desyoo. Ookíi desita desyoo. / Ookikatta desyoo. Hón desita desyoo. / Hón datta desyoo.	Yobimasén desita desyoo. / Yobanákatta desyoo. Ookiku arimasén desita desyoo. / Ookiku nákatta desyoo. Hón zya arimasén desita desyoo. / Hón zya nákatta desyoo.
PROPOSITIVE	Yobimasyóo.	(Yobanai kotó ni simasyóo. Yamemasyóo. §12.1)
IMPERATIVE	Yobimáse. / Yobimási.	Yobimásu na.

/22.2. Honorific stylization./ Nominal sentences are made honorific by changing dá to de gozaimásu, negative dé wa gozaimasén. Adjectival sentences are made by adding gozaimásu (negative gozaimasén) after the infinitive; before the affirmative and optionally before the negative, the infinitive has the shape //-wu// instead of the expected -ku. [Morphophonemics of -wu: ...a-wu, ...o-wu --: /oo/, ...(y)u-wu --: /(y)uu/, ...i-wu --: /yuu/.]

Strictly speaking, the only verbal that takes honorific stylization is áru --: Gozaimásu. For other verbals, nominalization is necessary: Yobú no de gozaimásu, though sometimes the no is dropped: Yobú de gozaimásu. Like -másu, gozaimásu is less common adnominalized or adverbialized, but we find the forms gozaimásite (gerund), gozaimásitara (conditional), gozaimásitari (alternative), and gozaimásebo/gozaimasúreba (provisional). [In modern Japanese gozáru itself is not used, but you will hear it on the kabuki stage and in samurai films (with regular conjugation).]

Here are paradigms for the honorific stylization:

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
IMPERFECT	Gozaimásu. Ókyuu gozaimásu. Hón de gozaimásu.	Gozaimasén. Ókiku/Ókyuu gozaimasén. Hón de wa gozaimasén.
	Yobú (no) de gozaimásu.	Yobú (no) de wa gozaimasén. / Yobanái (no) de gozaimásu.
PERFECT	Gozaimásita. Ókyuu gozaimásita. / Ókikatta de gozaimásu. Hón de gozaimásita.	Gozaimasén desita. Ókiku/Ókyuu gozaimasén desita. / Ókikunákatta de gozaimásu. Hón de wa gozaimasén desita.
	Yondá (no) de gozaimásu. / Yobú (no) de gozaimásita.	Yondá (no) de wa gozaimasén desita. Yobanákatta (no) de wa gozaimasén.
TENTATIVE	Gozaimasyóo. Ókyuu gozaimasyóo. Hón de wa gozaimasén.	Gozaimasén desyoo. Ókiku/Ókyuu gozaimasén desyoo. Hón de wa gozaimasén desyoo.
	Yobú (no) de gozaimasyóo.	Yobú (no) de gozaimasén desyoo. / Yobanái (no) de gozaimasyóo.
PERF.TENT.	Gozaimásita desyoo. Ókyuu gozaimásita desyoo. / Ókikatta de gozaimasyóo. Hón de gozaimásita desyoo.	Gozaimasén desita desyoo. Ókiku/Ókyuu gozaimasén desita desyoo. / Ókiku nákatta de gozaimasyóo. Hón de wa gozaimasén desita desyoo.
	Yobú (no) de gozaimásita desyoo. /Yondá (no) de gozaimásita desyoo.	Yobú (no) de wa gozaimasén desita desyoo. / Yondá (no) de wa gozaimasén desyoo. / Yobanákatta (no) de gozaimásu desyoo.

Since verbals do not undergo honorific stylization except for Áru, which has no propositive or imperative, we find no honorific propositive or imperative.

/22.3. Hybrid and nlecrastic forms./ The use of stylization seems to be in flux today, and you often hear unexpected forms like Yobimásu desu, Yobimasén desu, and even Yobú no de gozaimásu desu. There seems to be a feeling that it makes any sentence more polite to put desu on the end of it. I have taken no account of these and similar forms in this grammar.

/23. Interjections; afterthoughts; minor sentences of various types./ NOTE: This and the following sections have not been completed. A few brief notes are given here as reminders of some of what will be included.
Use of "yes"and "no".

/24. Conjunctions, connectors, and sentence-introducers./ "Anticipators" (Ishigaki 45-6), e.g.: sappari, zensen, betu-ni, ?zettai-ni, metta ni, ... sika + NEGATIVE; kanarazu, zehi + COMMAND, DESIDERATIVE, ?OBLIGATION, ?ETC.; tokeku + -i-yasúi 'apt, liable to'; kiq-to + TENTATIVE, NI TIGAI NAI; [illegible] sa-mo + EVIDENTIAL; ?maru-de + yóo da 'just like'. "Connectors" (Ishigaki 47).

/25. Apposition./ Dóko ka késiki no íi tokoró 'some scenic place', dáre ka eigo ga dekíru hitó 'someone who can speak English'; kane sono monó 'money itself' etc.; ...; ? Tanaka Tároo san. Cf. §14.2.3.

/26. Decompounds./ (Ishigaki 57-8) Cross-reference to Part III.

/27. Sentence-sharing devices./ (1) A mo suru + B mo suru --: A mo site/surúba B mo suru. --: A mo B mo suru.
(2) A ga X o site Y o suru --: A ga X mo Y mo suru. --: A ga X to Y o suru.
(3) X kara itté mo, Y kara itté mo, Z kara itté mo (Whether from the viewpoint of X, Y, or Z).
(4) Ookíi kurúi N da (Ishigaki 83).
(5) nari (Ishigaki 67), dano (77-8).
...

/28. Nuclear deletions./ (1) copula gerund: A wa X (de), B wa Y da. (Examples in Ishigaki 42-3.) íma o sáru kotó (ga) 25-nen (de), ...
A wa motíron [no kotó] (*de :-- da), B wa/mo ...
A wa óroka (*de :-- da): Anó hito wa syokuzi wa óroka, nómi mo sinai 'Eat? He won't even taken a drink'.
(2) copula imperfect/perfect: A wa X (de), B wa Y (dé/dátta).
(3) (si) ri iku §9.1.1.
(4) (site) §9.1.10, examples Ishigaki 42-3.
(5) Benkyoo o entyoo (suru/sita).
(6) X o hazime (to site). A wa to-ni/mo-kaku (to site) ...
(7) (suru kotó ga) dekíru §14.1.3.
(8) Senséi-hin sisaku (si), hatubai sareru. (Manual of Japanese Writing 26.38)
(9) X to iú no wa --: X tó wa.
(10) ...to omótte. --: ...to.
...
etc. etc.

/29. "Pro"-words. dummies./

ABC	dáre, dótira, dónata; monó, yátu, hitó; 'no
XYZ	náni; monó, yátu; 'no
PQ	dóko, dótira; tokoró; 'no
A/B, X/Y, P/Q	dótira; ... hóo
A/B/C/..., X/Y/Z/...	dóre; monó, yátu; 'nó
T	ítu; nán-T; tokí; 'no
M	dóo, dónna ni, íka-(ni/ga); ... yóo (ni)
Adn	dónna, dóo-iu; ... yóo (na)
R	dóo site, náze; wáke, riyuu, ...; ... kara/tamé
Quant	nán-, íkutu, -ra)
Kind	[illegible] nani- [as in náni-iro 'what color']
V	dóo suru; suru
A	dóo da; áru

S NEGATIVE ka --: dóo ka: Áru ka nái/dóo ka siranai.

/30. Shifters: deictics: pronouns./ Kore - sore - are, etc. (correlatives). Watasi (etc) - anáta (etc) - anó-hito (etc). Cf. iku - kúru, yaru/ageru - kureru/kudasáru.

... ...

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